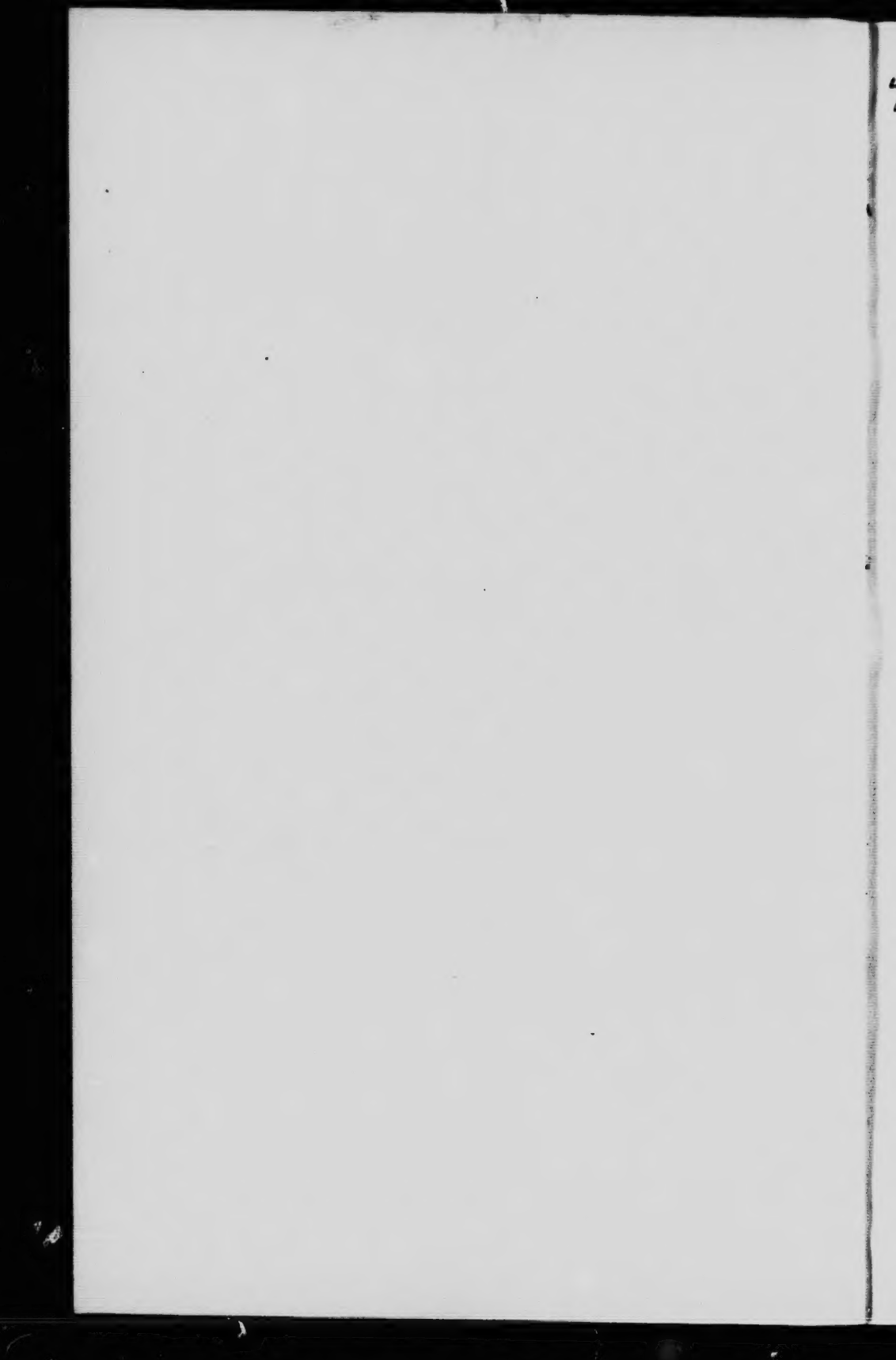




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A
HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY
OF THE
BRITISH COLONIES

BY
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OF BALLIOL COLLEGE, OXFORD
AND THE COLONIAL OFFICE, LONDON

VOL. II. THE WEST INDIES

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PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

My acknowledgments are due to Sir A. Hemming, late Governor of Jamaica, to Sir Gilbert Carter, formerly Governor of the Bahamas, to Mr. E. F. im Thurn, sometime Government Agent of the North-West Districts of British Guiana, to Sir H. Bovell, Chief Justice of British Guiana, and to Mr. Hesketh-Bell, Administrator of Dominica, for help in connexion with the above-mentioned Colonies. To them and to others who have so kindly assisted me I tender my hearty thanks.

C. ATCHLEY.

June, 1905.

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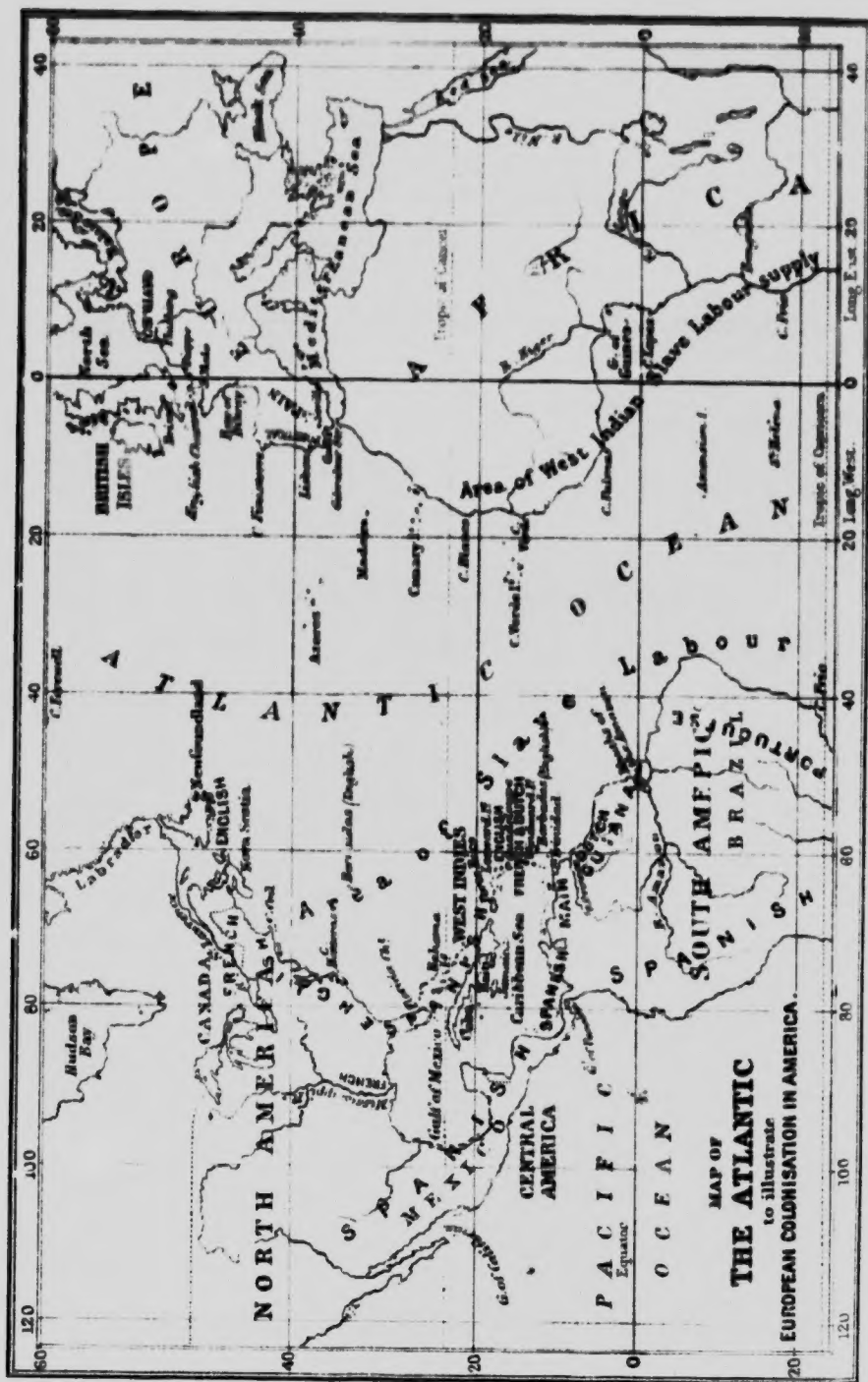
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HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE BRITISH COLONIES

VOL. II

THE WEST INDIES

INTRODUCTION

BRITISH colonization began in America. In America it received outwardly its greatest check, when the United States declared and made good their independence. In America notwithstanding, at the present day the area of British possessions is, owing to the vast extent of the Canadian Dominion, larger than in any other part of the globe.

On page 2 is a table of the American dependencies of Great Britain, showing the mode and date of acquisition in each case, the area and the population at the last (1901) census.

Nearly all the dependencies enumerated in this list fall into two main groups, the North American and the West Indian. Two alone belong neither to the one nor to the other, viz. the Bermudas in the North Atlantic ocean, and the Falkland islands off the Straits of Magellan.

Geography and History alike have drawn a distinct line between the North American and the West Indian depen-

2 HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE COLONIES. II

<i>Name of dependency.</i>	<i>How acquired.</i>	<i>Date.</i>	<i>Area in sq. miles.</i>	<i>Population at last census [1901].</i>
1. British N. America.				
1. Newfoundland and Labrador . . .	Settled	1583-1623	42,734 } 120,000 }	217,037 } 3,947 }
2. Dominion of Canada	Conquered [Quebec].	1759	3,745,574	5,371,315 ¹
2. The Bermudas . . .				
	Settled	1609-12	19	17,535
3. The West Indies.				
1. The Bahamas . .	Settled [New Providence].	1666	4,466	53,735
2. { Jamaica and The Caymans . . .	Conquered . . .	1655	4,296 87	755,730 ¹
{ Turks Islands . .	Settled	1678	166	5,287
3. Leeward Islands.				
a. { Antigua	"	1632	108	34,178
{ Barbuda	"	1661-2	62	775
{ Redonda	"		¹ / ₂	18
b. { St. Kitts	"	1623	65 ¹ / ₂	29,782
{ Nevis	"	1628	50	12,774
{ Anguilla	"	1650	35	3,890
c. Montserrat . . .	"	1632	32	12,215
d. Dominica . . .	Settled and [1761] conquered.	1761	291	28,894
e. Virgin Islands .	Conquered [Tortola].	1672	58	4,908
4. Barbados.	Settled	1624-5	166	195,588 ¹
5. Windward Islands.				
a. St. Lucia	Conquered. . . .	1803	233	49,883
b. St. Vincent . . .	Occupied	1762	147	47,548 ¹
c. Grenada	Conquered. . . .	"	133	63,438
6. { Trinidad	"	1797	1,754	255,148
{ Tobago	Settled and [1803] conquered.	1803	114	18,751
7. British Guiana . .	Conquered	"	100,000	295,896 ¹
8. British Honduras .	Settled and [1798] conquered.	1798	7,562	37,479
4. The Falkland Islands and South Georgia.				
	Occupied [finally]	1832-3	6,500 1,000	2,043

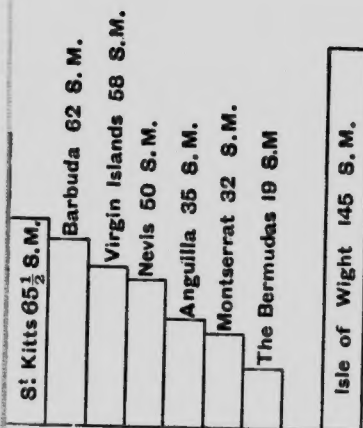
Total Area of the American dependencies of Great Britain 4,035,653 sq. miles.

Total Population of " " " " 7,517,794.

¹ No census taken. Estimate only.

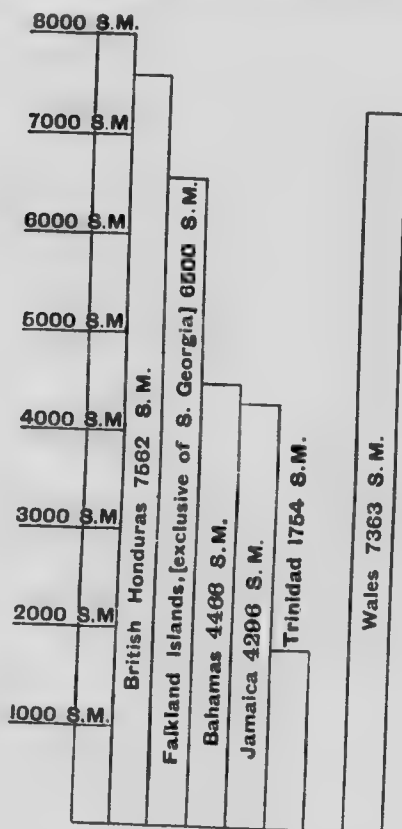
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 at census
 901].
 7,037 }
 3,947 }
 1,315
 7,535
 3,735
 5,730¹
 5,287
 4,178
 775
 18
 9,782
 2,774
 3,890
 2,215
 8,894
 4,908
 5,588¹
 9,883
 7,548¹
 3,438
 5,148
 8,751
 5,896¹
 7,479
 2,043
 miles.

In square miles of the colonies
 h the Isle of Wight.



[To face p 2.

DIAGRAM 1. Showing the area in square miles of the colonies named as compared with Wales.



NOTE. British Guiana is rather smaller than the British Isles.

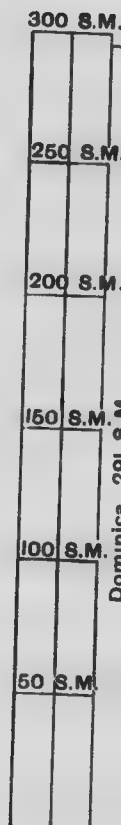
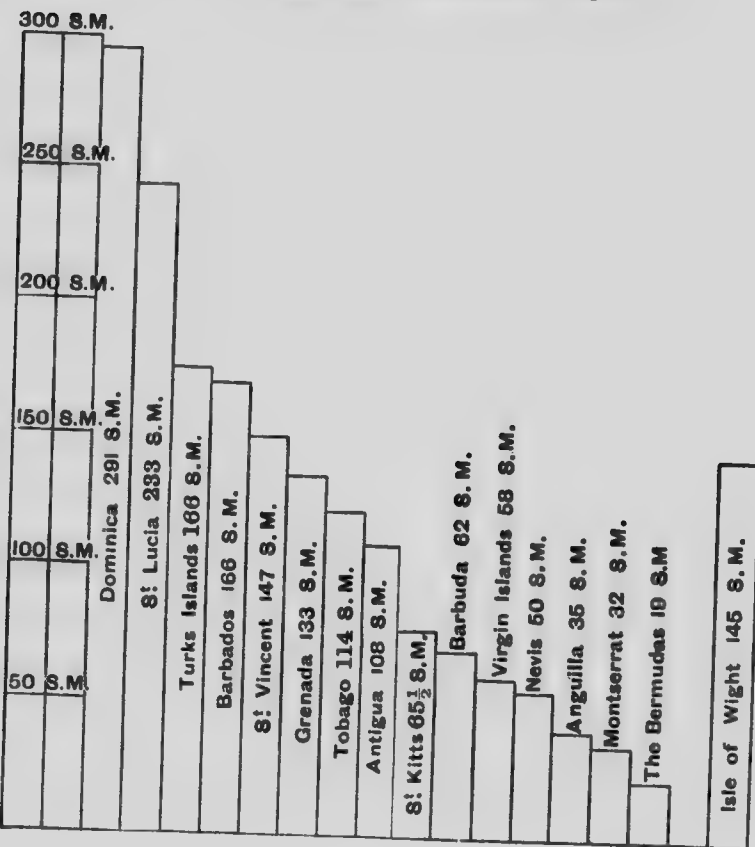
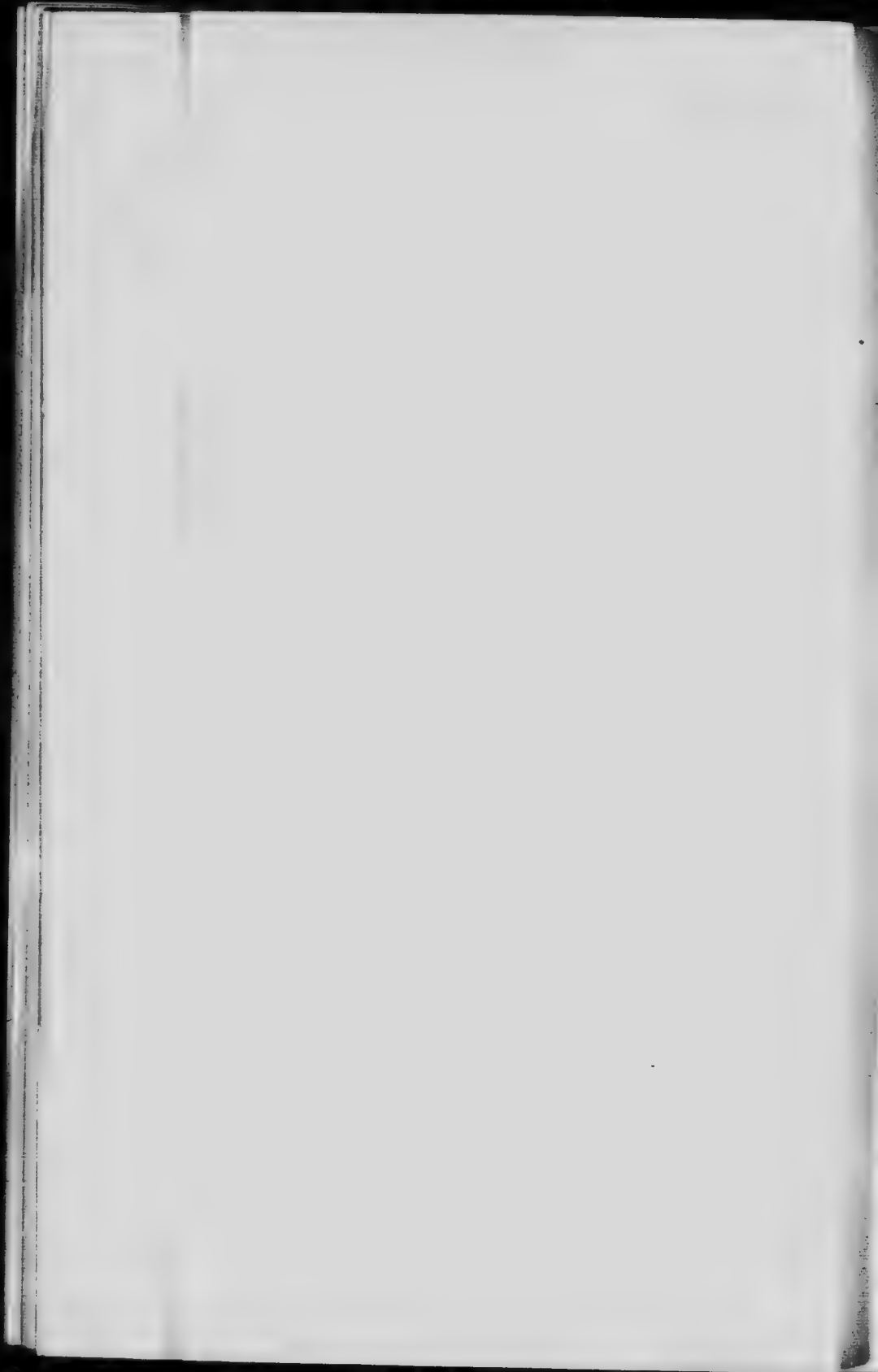


DIAGRAM 2. Showing the area in square miles of the colonies named as compared with the Isle of Wight.



[To face p 2.



dencies. Though the former include the islands of Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, Cape Breton, Vancouver, and others, yet this group of possessions may be said to be a continental province. The West Indies, on the other hand, though they include tracts of the mainland in British Honduras and British Guiana, are on the whole a collection of island dependencies. In Canada and Newfoundland the drawbacks to colonization have been ice and snow, in the West Indies they have been tropical heat and hurricanes. In British North America colonists have come straight from the opposite shores of Europe to a similar if a colder climate, and, with the exception of a few aboriginal Indians, all the inhabitants are of European origin. The West Indies on the contrary, lie over against West Africa; their tropical heat and tropical products called for a black population; and though the islands have contained European settlers from the beginnings of modern history, they have become in the main a home for the African negro, supplemented in later times to a certain extent by the Indian coolie. Two European nations only, the French and the English, have been directly concerned in Canadian settlement. On the West Indies, on the other hand, the stepping-stones to the great Western continent, nearly every colonizing nation has set its foot. Here Spaniards, French, English, Dutch, and Danes have played a part and still retain a hold. Here the Swedes once owned an island, and the Portuguese on their way to Brazil are said to have intruded into the Spanish seas so far as to give Barbados its name. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries most of the smaller islands were constantly changing hands. In some, as St. Kitts, colonists from rival nations settled side by side; and, wherever the buccaneers established themselves, they united adventurers of all nationalities against the power of Spain.

There is however one point which all the American colonies of Great Britain, North American and West Indian alike, have in common. They are settlements and not mere dependencies.

4 *HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE COLONIES. II*

The heat of the West Indies has not prevented the British race from colonizing the islands, and though the negro element has long been greatly superior in numbers to the white, the history of an island like Barbados shows that even in the tropics the connexion between Great Britain and America has been that of permanent settlement rather than of passing trade or of foreign rule.

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THE BERMUDAS.

ENGLISH MILES.



Longitude 65° West from Greenwich.

50

45

40

35

W. & A. S. O. & Co. Ltd. 10, Abchurch Lane, London, E.C. 4.

SECTION I

THE BERMUDAS¹

THE smallest, one of the earliest, and the most secluded² of all the American dependencies of Great Britain, the Bermudas or Somers islands have an interest out of all proportion to their size and importance.

Geography and history have made them a connecting link between the British colonies in North America and the British colonies in the West Indies. Their early story is full of romance, the history of their growth and development has much that is instructive in it. A point of call, a possession of a trading company, an emporium for passing traffic, a military and naval station, the home of a slave-holding community, a dépôt for convicts, and a colony in the fullest sense with representative institutions from the very first, this little group of coral islands only wanted native inhabitants to have been a miniature world, exhibiting every phase of colonization and containing every kind of colonist.

The Bermudas were discovered at the beginning of the sixteenth century³ by a Spaniard, Juan Bermudez, from whom they take their first and best known name. His ship is said to have been called *La Garza* (the Heron), and that name also was for a short while borne by the group.

Some years later⁴ the King of Spain received a proposal

¹ As the colony consists of a group of islands, the plural 'Bermudas' seems more correct than the singular 'Bermuda.'

² The Bermudas are farther from the mainland than the Falkland Islands.

³ The exact date is uncertain. See the *Memorials of the Bermudas*, by Sir J. H. Lefroy.

⁴ Probably about the year 1527.

6 HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE COLONIES. II

from Ferdinando Camelo, a Portuguese and a native of the Azores, for colonizing the islands. The scheme, however, was apparently never carried out, although an inscription on the main island, containing the figures 1543, has been taken as evidence that Camelo took possession of it at that date.

Hurrying on to and from tropical America and the sunny West Indies, intent on the wonders of Mexico and the gold of Peru, the Spaniards were not likely to take heed of the insignificant islands, which lay in the middle of the stormy Atlantic, almost beyond their beat. They passed them by, as the Portuguese passed by Mauritius on their way to the spice islands of the East, their first discoverer, so the story goes, merely leaving on them a number of pigs for the benefit of after comers¹. Rock-bound, storm-beaten, and desolate, the group was styled by the Spanish sailors the 'isles of Devils,' though 'all the devils that haunted the woods were but herds of swine².' Ships on their way from Havana to the Azores and Spain steered north towards them to take advantage of the Gulf Stream and to avoid the easterly trade winds; but they were warned to keep far away from the islands, and to shun their storms and reefs.

Nor was it the Spaniards only who dreaded and had cause to dread the dangers of the Bermudas. In 1591 three trading ships were sent from London to the East under the command of James Lancaster. On their return voyage they found their way to the West Indies; and at Hispaniola, at the end of 1593, Lancaster sent on one of his followers, Henry May, in a French ship bound for Europe and commanded by a captain named

¹ The Portuguese, in like manner, landed live stock at Mauritius, see vol. i. of this work, p. 163. Bermudez is credited with having introduced the hogs, but they were apparently landed subsequently to the first discovery of the islands [see the *Memorials of the Bermudas*]. May found the descendants of these pigs 'so lean that you cannot eat them.' It is stated that the name Bermudas was falsely derived from an old Spanish word meaning 'black hogs.'

² From a tract published in 1610, and entitled, *A true Declaration of the estate of the colony in Virginia*. It is quoted in the *Memorials of the Bermudas*.

La Barbotière. The ship was wrecked on the shoals of the Bermudas; May with about half of his companions remained on the islands for nearly five months, when they found their way to Newfoundland; and on his return to England he published a short and simple account of the place where he had been so 'ill-welcomed by the rocks', which is to be found in the pages of Hakluyt.

To the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century, one discoverer after another, whether they went to north or south, continued to bear ill-witness against the Bermudas. Writing in 1595 of his voyage to Guiana, Sir Walter Raleigh speaks of them as a 'hellish sea for thunder, lightning, and storms'; Champlain, the great pioneer of French colonization in Canada, who sighted them about 1600, has left a record of 'a mountainous island, which it is difficult to approach on account of the dangers that surround it'; and when British colonization in America began in sober earnest with the incorporation of trading companies, and the era of spasmodic discovery was followed by that of systematic settlement, the curtain rises on the 'still-vex'd Bermoothes' in shipwreck and storm.

The Virginia Company⁴ received its patent from James the First in 1606, and on New Year's day 1607 its first colonists were despatched to America. In 1609 the Company was re-organized, and nine ships were sent out under three of its most prominent members, Gates, Somers, and Newport. The second of the three, and the leading spirit, Sir George Somers, was the man after whom the Bermudas were called the Somers

¹ From the *Historye of the Bermudæ*, attributed to Capt. John Smith, edited by Sir J. H. Lefroy for the Hakluyt Society.

² Given in the Appendix to vol. ii. of the *Memorials of the Bermudas*.

³ From the *Tempest*, act i. sc. 2. It is generally admitted that in writing this play, which was produced in 1611, Shakespeare had in his mind the wreck of Sir G. Somers's ship on the Bermudas two years previously. See App. 2 to vol. ii. of the *Memorials of the Bermudas*.

⁴ For the Virginia Company and its connexion with the Bermudas, see Doyle's *History of the English in America*, vol. i.

islands. Somers was well worthy to be the eponymous hero of a British colony. Like many other great English sailors, he was a West country man, born at or near Lyme Regis in Dorset. He had been trained in the wars with Spain. In his passionate daring¹, his constancy, and force of character, he was a typical representative of the race of Englishmen who made the reign of Elizabeth famous, and he carried on into the more prosaic seventeenth century the best and brightest qualities of the older generation.

The little fleet left Plymouth on the second of June, the three leaders sailing in the same ship, the *Sea Venture*. On or about the twenty-fifth of July a violent storm scattered the vessels. On the *Sea Venture* Sir George Somers alone of the company, like Sir Humphrey Gilbert years before, remained watchful and unmoved; and, when all had been given up for lost, he sighted land at the Bermudas. The story of the storm and shipwreck reads curiously like the account of the tempest which cast St. Paul on Malta. The ship was wedged fast between two rocks², and on the twenty-eighth of July all the company reached the land in safety. There they stayed till the tenth of May following³, finding the islands better than their repute; and finally, having built two ships, they set sail and reached Virginia⁴.

As far as their own comfort was concerned, they had better have remained at the much maligned Bermudas. They found the Virginian colony nearly starved out, 'in much distress of victual, so that the overplus of their Sommer islands store relieved many and saved some lives⁵.' The abandonment of

¹ See what is said of Sir G. Somers in *Fuller's Worthies of England*, among the *Worthies of Dorsetshire*.

² One of the shoals off St. George's island is still known as Sea Venture Flat.

³ During their stay a boy and girl were born, and were christened respectively, with some want of invention, Bermudas and Bermuda.

⁴ There are the fullest authorities for this celebrated voyage. Sir G. Somers's own report, and two fuller accounts by men who accompanied him, are given in the *Memorials of the Bermudas*.

⁵ From the *Historye of the Bermudas*.

the colony was only prevented by the arrival of fresh ships and a new governor from England; and, towards the end of June, Somers undertook to fetch food from the Bermudas, 'the most plentiful place that ever I came to for fish, hogs, and fowl'.¹ He reached the islands in safety, but reached them only to die.

His body was embalmed and carried to England by his companions, under the command of his nephew Captain Matthew Somers, and laid to rest at Whitchurch in his native county; but his heart is said to have been interred in Bermudian soil², where the town of St. George now stands, and that name with those of Somers islands and Somerset (Somers seat) have perpetuated his memory in the lonely land where he died.

The return of Somers's companions drew public attention in England to the Bermudas. There was much to attract in the tale which they had to tell. The islands now recalled the adventures and death of a leading Englishman. While Virginia had been tried and found grievously wanting, the Bermudas, so long dreaded and shunned, had proved a spot from which the Virginian colonists might find relief.

Romance always exaggerates; and, the dark picture hitherto given of the islands having been proved to be untrue, no colours were thought too bright for future descriptions. Henceforward the Bermudas are constantly spoken of as a kind of islands of the Blest. The author of the *Historye of the Bermudaes*, who wrote probably soon after the first settlement of the

¹ From Sir G. Somers's report to the Earl of Salisbury, referred to in note 4 on the preceding page. It is dated Jamestown, the fifteenth of June, 1610. He sailed for the Bermudas on the nineteenth of the same month.

² A few years later, in 1620, Governor Butler put the following inscription over the spot:—

'In the year 1611

Noble Sir George Summers went hence to heaven.
Whose well-tried worth that held him still imploid
Gave him the knowledge of the world so wide;
Hence 'twas by Heaven's decree that to this place
He brought new guests and name to mutual grace;
At last his soul and body being to part,
He here bequeathed his entrails and his heart.'

As a matter of fact, however, he died in 1610 not 1611

islands, speaks of them as 'being in an equal elevation with that of the Holy Land, and in particular very near with the very city of Jerusalem, which is a clime of the sweetest and most pleasing temper of ali others.'

A letter written in 1611-12 alludes to their being called 'Sommer islands as well in respect of the continual temperate air as in remembrance of Sir George Sommers that died there'.¹ Their climate, beauties, and products became a favourite theme for English poets.

Andrew Marvell writes of—

' This eternal spring
Which here enamels everything'.²

Waller's³ description is equally glowing,—

' So sweet the air, so moderate the clime,
None sickly lives, or dies before his time;
Heaven sure has kept this spot of earth uncurst,
To show how all things were created first.'

While in our own century, Moore⁴, whose poetry is inspired by the genius of the place, has sung of—

' These leafy isles upon the ocean thrown,
Like studs of emerald o'er a silver zone;'

¹ Quoted in the *Memorials of the Bermudas*, vol. i. p. 57. The false etymology no doubt helped to perpetuate the name. Writing in the middle of the seventeenth century, after the mistake had taken root, Fuller says, 'Possibly in process of time these Summer islands may be conceived so named because there winter doth never appear.' See the reference given in the note above, p. 8.

² From the singularly beautiful little poem beginning—

' Where the remote Bermudas ride
In ocean's bosom unespied.'

It was probably written about 1645.

³ From the burlesque poem *The Battle of the Summer islands*. It was probably written before 1639. The tradition that Waller visited the Bermudas is shown to be groundless in App. 8 to vol. ii. of the *Memorials of the Bermudas*. Moore commemorates his supposed visit in the lines (Odes to Nea)—

' May spring to eternity hallow the shade,
Where Ariel has warbled and Waller has strayed.'

⁴ Moore was appointed Registrar of the Court of Admiralty in the Bermudas in the year 1803, but he only stayed a few months in the islands. He held the office, however, the duties being discharged by a deputy, till 1844.

comparing them to the 'pure isles'—

'Which bards of old with kindly fancy placed
For happy spirits in th' Atlantic waste.'

Captain Somers returned to England in 1611. In March, 1612, the Virginia Company procured an extension of their charter so as to cover all islands within three hundred leagues of the Virginian shore and thereby to include the Bermudas. In the autumn of the same year the Company sold the islands to certain members of their own body, who in 1615 were incorporated by Royal Letters Patent as 'The Governor and Company of the City of London for the plantation of the Somer islands.' This Company owned the islands till the year 1684. The Letters Patent gave them full powers of government, with an absolute monopoly of the import and export trade of the islands, and among other provisions excluded from the settlement persons 'addicted to the superstition of the Church of Rome.'

The first emigrants to the Bermudas, about fifty in number, were sent out in 1612, before the new Company had been formed. Richard Moore, a ship's carpenter, was the first governor, and the instructions given to him specified various sources of wealth which might be derived from the colony, including tobacco, pearls, silk, timber, salt, sugar-canes, ambergris, and whale oil.

The new comers were received on arrival by three men who had remained behind from Somers's company, and who were mainly concerned with trying to conceal from the governor a large quantity of ambergris which they had found.

Other writers besides poets have borne witness to the climate and soil of the Bermudas, notably Bishop Berkeley in discussing his scheme for the establishment of a college in the islands (see below, pp. 20, 21). On the other hand a different picture is given in *A Short Discovery of the Coast and Continent of America*, by William Castell, published in 1644 (see the *Harleian Collection of Voyages*). The writer says, 'Besides it is as much if not more than any other place infested with most tempestuous fearful winds called hurricanes. The soil and temperature is far inferior to any part of Virginia, and yet is it inhabited no less than with 1000 English.' Labat, too [1705], speaks of the Bermudas, to which he gives the second name of Vermude, as being stormy islands.

Moore landed at Smith's island, but subsequently removed to St. George's, where he established his head-quarters. In his three years of government, he had, like the founders of other colonies, to confront mutiny and discontent on the part of his followers, he frightened away two Spanish ships with two of the only three gunshot in his stores, and he saw the infant settlement recruited by several hundred emigrants from England, who brought with them a blessing in the shape of potatoes, a curse in the shape of rats¹.

One of the first settlers was Richard Norwood, a surveyor, whose name is very prominent in the early records of the Bermudas. He carried out the division of the islands according to the terms laid down in the Letters Patent. These terms were that part, not exceeding one fourth, was to be left for common land to defray the public charges of the Company, while the rest was to be divided into eight tribes, each tribe containing fifty shares of twenty-five acres each, making four hundred shares in all². The tribes were named after some of the leading members of the Company, Hamilton, Smith's, Devonshire, Pembroke, Paget, Warwick, Southampton, and Sandys, while St. George's with the small islands around it and part of the main island was set aside for the common land. The eight tribes and St. George's constitute the nine parishes,

¹ Smith's *History of Virginia* ascribes the 'increase of silly rats' which devastated the islands and their subsequent disappearance to divine interposition. Compare the trouble caused by rats to the early settlers in Mauritius, vol. i. of this work, p. 146, note 1.

² The survey was carried out about 1618. There is a chart of the islands in the British Museum, showing the survey, and dated 1626. A reproduction is given in the *Memorials of the Bermudas*, vol. i. Norwood executed a second survey of the islands in 1662-3.

The division into tribes did not exhaust the whole of the islands. There was an overplus, the application of which gave rise to a suspicion of jobbery against the governor and some members of the Company. It may be mentioned here that the Virginia Company, 'in consideration of the great defect of the quantity of land in the Summer islands, conceived to have been at the time of the sale thereof,' made over to the Bermuda Company certain land in Virginia. Hence the 'Bermuda hundred,' said to be still so named in Virginia. See the *Memorials of the Bermudas*, vol. i. p. 228, and note.

into which the Bermudas are still divided for ecclesiastical and political purposes at the present day.

The division into tribes formed the basis for the representative institutions which were established in the Bermudas after the first few years of the settlement, subject to the authority of the Company at home. In addition to the Governor and his Council, mainly composed of officials, there were General Sessions held twice a year for judicial purposes, to which each tribe sent six representatives and the common land twelve; and a General Assembly, held once in every two years, which included the Governor and Council, and to which each tribe sent four representatives and the common land eight.

The Bermudas were the second British colony to receive some form of Representative Government. The first Assembly was held in 1620, one year after a similar institution had been established in Virginia, and the constitution was revised and fully detailed in 1622.

The Bermudas were under the government of the Company during the reigns of James the First and Charles the First, the period of the Commonwealth, and the reign of Charles the Second. By 1629 the population had grown to between two and three thousand, and the colony attained sufficient importance to be described as 'an excellent bit to rule a great horse¹.' In 1656 the number of inhabitants was given at about 3,000, and by 1679 it had risen to 8,000, including women, children, and slaves².

The elements of the population included English planters, tenants of absentee proprietors, negro slaves, first mentioned about 1617, Indian slaves shipped off from Massachusetts by a law passed in 1652, and white bond-servants, in great measure Scotch and Irish political prisoners³.

¹ From *The Relation of Robert Chestevan and others*, quoted in Smith's *Virginia*.

² In Blome's *Jamaica* [1672] it is described as a powerful English colony, having about four or five thousand inhabitants.

³ In 1661 the governor issued a proclamation against a projected rising of Irish and negroes.

Though, during the long strife between King and Parliament, the authorities at home had little leisure and perhaps little inclination to interfere with this small and distant dependency, yet the political and religious discord which raged in England throughout these years, found its counterpart to some extent in the Bermudas.

From the first the Puritan ministers and their followers seem to have caused constant trouble. About 1620 certain modifications in the forms of the Church of England were introduced, similar to those allowed in the Channel Islands. In 1643 the Independents formally seceded from the Church, and two years later an act of the Long Parliament established freedom of worship for the inhabitants of the islands. Later, from 1660 onwards, the *odium theologicum* of this small community appears to have been turned against the Quakers, acts and proclamations were promulgated against them, and an order was made by the Company prohibiting their landing in the islands¹.

At the time of the execution of Charles the First and the establishment of the Commonwealth, the adherents of the Royalists appear to have been in the ascendant, and in 1650 the Long Parliament passed an act prohibiting trade with these islands as well as with Barbados, Antigua, and Virginia, on account of the refusal of the colonists to recognize the new order of things². The opposition however was not long-lived. Barbados was blockaded and reduced to order in January, 1652; and in February of that year the Governor and Council of the Bermudas took the oath of allegiance 'to the Commonwealth of England as it is now established without a King or House of Lords.'

On the other hand the Restoration of Charles the Second eight years later, in 1660, appears to have been at once welcomed

¹ It may be also mentioned that about 1694 a tax was placed on all Jews arriving in the islands for purposes of trade.

² See below, pp. 144, 182.

in the colony ; indeed it probably mattered little to the dwellers in this far-off land what form of government existed at home, except so far as the success of Royalists or Puritans in England gave countenance to the partisans of the corresponding factions in the Bermudas.

An interesting illustration of the state of religious feeling among the Bermudians during this period is found in the story of the settlement at Eleutheria. In 1646 Captain William Sayle, on more than one occasion Governor of the Bermudas, obtained or professed to have obtained from the English Parliament a grant¹ of one of the islands in the Bahamas group ; and there, with the help of friends in England, he established a colony consisting mainly of Bermudian settlers. The island had been called by Columbus Cigatio or Segatoo, and its new name of Eleutheria testified to the aim of the settlement, viz. that there 'Every man might enjoy his own opinion or religion without control or question'.² In 1649 some of the leading Independents of the Bermudas were shipped off to the new community, and for some years it appears to have been a place of exile for the religious malcontents of the mother colony.

But Eleutheria, or Eleuthera as it is now called, was not the only West Indian island which played a part in the early history of the Bermudas. Towards the end of the Company's rule, about 1678, the Bermudian settlers turned their attention to the production of salt in the Turks islands ; and it became the practice for many to resort to those islands year by year to follow up this industry. The trade was carried on for more than a hundred years, in spite of attacks by Spaniards and French, and counter-claims on the part of the authorities of the Bahamas to the ownership of the islands ; and it was not till the end of the last century that the Turks islands were definitely included within the limits of the Bahamas³.

¹ No record of the grant has been found, and the son of Captain Sayle apparently failed to establish his proprietary rights.

² Quoted in the *Memorials of the Bermudas*, from Winthrop's history.

³ See below, pp. 83, 133. The case for the Bermudas was ably set out

The dissolution of the Bermuda Company was due not to political or religious causes but to the numerous complaints against its rule which reached home from the settlers. It is clear that regulations devised for the management of a few ship-loads of colonists might well become unsuitable for an organized and growing community, but even in the early years there was reason for discontent. The severity of the discipline was so great that, in 1616, five men escaped from the islands in a fishing-boat, and after great hardships reached the coast of Ireland in safety.

The Directors of the Company in their own words took the Somers islands 'to be no commonwealth but a private inheritance inclosed to the use of the purchasers'.¹ Tobacco-planting, the main industry of the islands, was carried on in great measure by tenants, half of whose profits² accrued to the absentee landlords, or by servants or apprentices bound by indentures for a term of years. The tobacco was exported only to the port of London, and only in the Company's ships; it was subject to a duty imposed by the Company to meet the expenses of administration; and it was sold at a fixed price, whereas the prices of provisions brought into the islands, for which the tobacco-planters had to pay, were such as the Directors of the Company liked to charge. Equally oppressive were the restrictions placed on other industries, such as the whale fishery, export of cedar, and shipbuilding.

As time went on, the Company at home became composed of men who had no such direct interest in the islands as the

in a pamphlet published in London in 1803 by a Bermudian, Mr. Tucker, under the signature of 'Isocrates.' The pamphlet was entitled *The Question of the Bahama jurisdiction over Turks islands*.

¹ Letter from the Company in London, 1625. See the *Memorials of the Bermudas*, i. 357.

² Waller's lines on the subject are a good instance of poetic licence:—

'Tobacco is the worst of things, which they
To English landlords as their tribute pay,
Such is the mould, that the blest tenant feeds
On precious fruits and pays his rent in weeds.'

The prophetic use of the word 'weed' will be noted.

original proprietors. The settlers, on the other hand, grew in number, in strength, and independence, and one of the petitions (dated 1679), which brought about the fall of the Company, states bluntly that 'the Freeholders do very much groan under the burthen of a want of Free Trade to dispose of their commodities for their best advantages, where and to whom they please.' Finally legal proceedings were taken against the Company, their charter was abolished, and the Bermudas passed under the authority of the Crown.

The history of the Bermudas after the dissolution of the Company is comparatively uneventful. In this, as in other small colonies with representative institutions, the political record down to recent times is apparently in the main the recital of one long squabble between the Governor and the Assembly.

The position of the islands determined the occupation of their inhabitants. During the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century agriculture and handicrafts were neglected and left to slaves, while the settlers built ships from their cedar, and busied themselves with the transit trade between the West Indies and North America¹, with wrecking, and, in time of war, with privateering. Bishop Berkeley writes of them² in 1725, that 'having no rich commodity or manufacture' they are 'obliged to become carriers for America as the Dutch are for Europe,' and that in consequence 'it appears they are the only people of all the British Plantations who hold a general correspondence with the rest.' And Burke³ says, in similar terms, 'The chief and indeed only business of these islanders is the building and navigating of light sloops and brigantines, built with their cedar, which they employ chiefly

¹ Tobacco-planting had apparently been in great measure given up in the Bermudas by the beginning of the eighteenth century, owing mainly to the competition of Virginian tobacco.

² In his proposal for the founding of a college in the Bermudas. See below, p. 20.

³ In *The European Settlements in America*, published anonymously in 1757. See below, p. 75, 'Books relating to the West Indies.'

in the trade between North America and the West Indies . . . They export nothing from themselves but some white stone to the West Indies and some of their garden productions.'

The Bermudian seamen and shipowners had many difficulties to contend with. Abroad, they were constantly liable to be intercepted by one or other of the many enemies of Great Britain. In their own islands they were from time to time hampered by restrictions on trade, such as the regulation, passed in 1710 and not repealed for some considerable time, that all incoming vessels should enter their cargoes at the one port of St. George. Salt was the main, though not the only, article of traffic in the eighteenth century. It was carried from the Bahamas and Turks Islands to the American provinces; and the trade continued, though with interruptions, even after those provinces had revolted against the British government¹. Towards the end of the century, some of the colonial vessels were engaged in carrying logwood and mahogany from Honduras to Great Britain; and when Captain Cook visited the island of Ascension in 1775, he found that a Bermudian sloop had just left with a cargo of turtles on board.

When the colony was first founded², whale-fishing had been looked to as a likely source of wealth, and in 1738 the restrictions placed upon the trade by the Company were removed. Later, about 1784, ships were fitted out in the Bermudas to follow up the fishery in distant seas, but the war, which broke out between Great Britain and France, disappointed the hopes of the colonists and put an end to a promising industry.

The stirring events of the eighteenth century, which built up and tore asunder the British empire, the wars with France and

¹ One of Washington's letters, written in 1779, mentions the arrival of Bermudian vessels in Delaware and Chesapeake Bays with cargoes of salt to exchange for flour (Sparks's *Writings of Washington*).

² Waller's *Battle of the Summer islands* is a mock heroic account of a fight between the inhabitants of the Bermudas and two whales cast on their shores.

Spain, and the American war of Independence, only indirectly affected the fortunes of the Bermudas. Their safety lay in the smallness and poverty of the islands, their distance from the mainland, and the friendly relations between the islanders and their kinsmen on the American continent. Thus they were left in the main to work out their own salvation, not seriously molested by foreign foes, and little interfered with by the home government.

When the Spaniards in 1710 attacked the salt rakers at Turks Islands, the Bermudians drove them out, unassisted from home, and armed their own vessels to protect the trade in future. Similarly, at a later date, ships were fitted out to guard the islands against French privateers; and, from the time when the Company ceased to rule down to the last century, the colony boasted of a militia in which every adult male, including slaves, was enrolled.

The close connexion, which had always existed between the Bermudas and the North American colonies, and the fact that North America was the chief market for the island trade, made the Bermudians but half-hearted loyalists during the war of Independence. In 1775 a store of gunpowder in the islands was carried off, and from the letters¹ of Washington it would seem that the powder found its way into American hands with the friendly connivance of the inhabitants. Subsequently the latter petitioned the American Congress for relief in consequence of the non-importation of supplies; and, in consideration of their friendship with America, Congress resolved that provisions in certain quantities might be exported to them. These relations between the little island community and their powerful neighbours apparently continued in spite of complaints² of the

¹ In Sparks's *Writings of Washington* there are two letters of Washington's, dated 1775, bearing on this matter. One is addressed to the Governor of Rhode Island, and speaks of the inhabitants of the Bermudas as 'well disposed, not only to our cause in general, but to assist in this enterprise in particular.' The other is addressed directly to the Inhabitants of the Island of Bermuda. See the note to the second letter.

² See *Letters from Washington in 1779 and 1795*.

damage done to American shipping by the privateers which resorted to the Bermudas or which issued from their ports; and, although Washington is said to have contemplated taking the islands with the view of making them 'a nest of hornets for the annoyance of British trade in that part of the world',¹ he never carried his design into effect, but left them to rely on the one hand the protection of the British government, on the other some part at any rate of their all-important trade with America.

In spite, however, of their judicious neutrality, the islanders suffered by the war. Privateering, shipbuilding, and such indirect advantages as war brought, did not compensate for the interruption of steady traffic. From about 1780 the population of the colony tended to decline, and when peace was restored prosperity did not return with it. There were years of temporary revival, as in 1815, when the islands became for a time an entrepôt², where the vessels of the United States, precluded from directly trading with the West Indies, could ship West Indian produce; but, with the removal of restrictions on trade, the improvement of means of communication, and the general development of the Western world, the Bermudas ceased to be a commercial centre, becoming instead an Imperial station.

The record of what may be called the Middle Ages of Bermudian History contains one episode, which has some touch of the romance of older times. In 1725, Berkeley, the famous churchman and philosopher, put forth his 'Proposal for the better supplying of churches in our foreign plantations,

¹ Moore, in a note to his poems on America, quotes these words as spoken to himself by 'a celebrated friend of Washington.' In earlier life Washington just missed visiting the Bermudas. His brother, Lawrence Washington, who was travelling for health, went there from Barbados in 1752, and George Washington, who had been with him in Barbados the year before, was to have joined him again at the Bermudas. Lawrence Washington, however, hurried home to die.

² The authority for this is Frith Williams's book on the Bermudas. The position of Mauritius as an entrepôt between Europe and Asia in the days of the reorganized French East India Company (1784) may be compared. See vol. i. of this work, p. 150.

and for converting the savage Americans to Christianity, by a College to be erected in the Summer islands, otherwise called the Isles of Bermuda.'

Well situated, healthy, and secure, the little group of islands seemed to the Dean of Derry (as he then was) marked out to be the centre from which the light of Christianity might shine into the dark places of the West. His enthusiasm and Irish persuasiveness at first carried all before it. He raised a considerable sum of money by private subscription; he induced the King to give him a charter for his college; he persuaded the House of Commons, and through them Walpole, to promise a grant of £20,000; and in 1729 he embarked for America, hopeful and intent on carrying out his project. But he fared no better than many other unworldly and single-minded men. He remained three years in Rhode Island, waiting for the money, which had been promised but which was never forthcoming. He never even visited the Bermudas; and in 1731 he returned home, with his hopes disappointed and his scheme a failure.

From the first foundation of the colony down to the closing years of the eighteenth century, the business of the islands had been carried on at St. George's, which was also the seat of government. As time went on, the convenience of the traders and ship owners, many of whom lived more to the west and in the neighbourhood of the Great Sound, called for a capital in a more central position. Consequently, in 1790, steps were taken to lay out the town of Hamilton in Pembroke Parish. In 1793 it was incorporated, taking its name from the governor at the time; and in 1815 it became the seat of government instead of the town of St. George.

A more important event was the decision of the British government to make the Bermudas a station for the Imperial navy. If the American War had done much to injure the trade of the islands, it had at least brought them to the notice of the home authorities. In 1794, Admiral Murray, who gave his

name to Murray's Anchorage off the north-east of St. George's Island, recommended the construction of a dockyard to the Admiralty. Ireland Island was selected for the purpose, and the work was begun in January, 1810. To carry it out convicts were imported from England; and, from the years 1824 to 1863, some 9,000 English criminals were sent to and employed in the islands, the number at one time being over 1,500, after the emancipation of the slaves had made forced labour more valuable. The Bermudas, however, were never a penal settlement in the same sense as Australia, the convicts being sent there for a definite purpose, viz. to work for the Imperial government. The mortality among them, caused by an outbreak of yellow fever, led to a reduction of their numbers; as years went on the system of transportation was gradually discontinued; and it is now nearly half a century since the last batch of prisoners was reshipped to England.

The first of August, 1834, saw the beginning of the end of slavery in the British Colonies. In the Bermudas the measure of emancipation was received more kindly than in some other parts of the empire, and the local legislature dispensed with the preliminary period of apprenticeship.

The fact that slaves were enrolled in the colonial militia may be taken as evidence that there was no strong antagonism between them and their masters, in spite of the barbarous enactments which everywhere disfigured the statute books of slave-holding colonies; and instances are recorded, which show that the treatment of slaves in the Bermudas was exceptionally kind and humane¹.

The last fifty years of island history contain little or nothing of general interest.

The days of peace have been somewhat sleepy times in

¹ The instance usually quoted is contained in Bryan Edwards's *History of the West Indies*, Bk. 3, chap. 4, note. In the first American war a Bermudian ship with seventy slaves on board was taken by the Americans, and all the slaves, but one who died, voluntarily returned to their masters.

the Bermudas. In spite of occasional hurricanes and epidemics¹ the islands have prospered in a quiet way, and the population has gradually increased. British soldiers and sailors, and, in the winter time, American visitors have kept the little colony in touch with the outer world; and, if it has had no great resources to develop, it has at least been spared the changes and chances which have befallen the industries of the West Indian islands.

The British Colonies are divided into three classes, Crown Colonies proper, Colonies which possess Representative Institutions but not Responsible Government, and Colonies which possess both Representative Institutions and Responsible Government.

The Bermudas belong to the second, the intermediate class. They have enjoyed Representative Institutions almost from the first, but at the same time the Executive has been and is independent of the local Legislature and under the control of the home government. The Executive power is in the hands of the Governor, who is appointed by the Crown and paid mainly from Imperial funds. He is always a military officer of high rank commanding the garrison, and he has the assistance of an Executive Council, which down to 1888 was composed of the same members as the Legislative Council.

The Legislature consists of the Governor, the Legislative Council, and the House of Assembly. The Legislative Council is composed of nine members, three of whom are official, and six unofficial². The House of Assembly consists of thirty-six elected members, four for each of the nine parishes. The electoral qualification is the possession of freehold property of not less than £60 in value, and the total number of electors is about eleven hundred and twenty. The qualification for membership of the House of Assembly is the possession of freehold property rated at not less than £240. The members both of

¹ The last epidemic of yellow fever was in 1804.

² Down to 1797 the Governor sat with, and took part in the deliberations of, the Legislative Council.

the Council and of the Assembly receive an allowance while sitting of 8s. per diem.

The law of the Bermudas is, speaking generally, the Common Law of England supplemented by local acts, and justice is administered by a Chief Justice, two Assistant Judges, and three Police Magistrates.

The Bermudas are, next to Gibraltar, the smallest dependency of Great Britain. Their area is given at 19 square miles, and is therefore less than one-seventh of the size of the Isle of Wight. They consist of a collection of islands in the form (to quote old descriptions) of a sickle¹ or a shepherd's crook; the staff of the crook runs from north-east to south-west, and the crook is formed at the westerly extremity, where the islands turn sharp round again to the north-east. Their length from east to west is about twenty-two miles, their greatest breadth not more than three.

Around them is a girdle of reefs in the form of an ellipse, running close to the islands on the south and east, but lying away to a distance of some miles on the north. The formation is that of a coral atoll, 'situated on the summit of a large cone with a wide base, rising from the submerged plateau of the Atlantic².' Possibly in consequence of the warmth brought by the Gulf Stream³, the coral formation is here found occurring in more northerly latitudes than is usually the case. The pre-

¹ The description given in the *History of the Bermudæ* cannot be improved upon: 'They consist of divers small broken islands severed one from another by narrow breaches and inlets of sea, whereby are made many necessary sandy bays for the anchorage of boats, two commodious and large sounds for the use of fishing, and two excellent harbours. Lying thus together they become in form not much unlike a reaper's sickle, being in their whole longitude from east to west not above twenty miles English; in the latitude (where most extended, not fully two and a half.'

² From the Report of the *Voyage of the Challenger*, Narrative, vol. i. first part, which should be consulted. The report points out that the Bermudas differ from the ordinary coral atoll, there being no well-defined lagoon, and the land being higher than in other coral islands. The report also speaks of the group as being probably an ancient volcano.

³ The islands are about 240 miles to the south and 400 to the east of the Gulf Stream.

vailing south-westerly wind has tended to heap up the sand¹, and extend the limits of the islands on the southern side; on the north, on the contrary, there are clear traces of subsidence and disintegration, the solitary 'North Rock,' far away in the coral reef which bounds the lagoon, bearing witness to the existence in former times of a stretch of land on this side which has now disappeared.

The islands are many in number, but the large majority are mere rocks. The largest are St. George's, St. David's, Bermuda proper or the main island (which is larger than all the rest put together), Somerset, and Ireland. The chain, from St. George's on the east to Ireland on the west, is practically continuous, the separate islands being united by bridges and causeways, except for one break between Somerset and Watford Islands.

The main entrance into the circle of reefs, which is strongly fortified, is the Narrows or Ship Channel at the eastern extremity of the islands, between St. George's Island and Sea Venture Flat. St. George's Harbour lies between St. George's and St. David's Islands. Castle Harbour, of little or no use for shipping on account of the difficulties of entrance, lies between these two islands and the main island; and, in the bend of the crook, with the main island, Somerset, and Ireland Islands running round it in a semicircle, is the Great Sound, at the eastern extremity of which Hamilton Harbour runs into the land, a safe and sheltered haven for vessels of light draught. The only two towns in the group are St. George, the old capital on the island of that name, and Hamilton, the present seat of government, situated about the middle of the main island, a town of 2,246 inhabitants, according to the last census.

At Ireland Island is the Naval Station, with dockyard, arsenal, and floating dock, well guarded by fortifications. The head-quarters of the troops are at Prospect Hill on the main island; there is also a strong detachment at St. George's; and

¹ One of the geological curiosities of the islands is a 'sand glacier' at Elbow Bay, on the south side of the main island.

the two little islands of Boaz and Watford between Ireland and Somerset are given up to military purposes.

The islands are composed of limestone, hollowed out in numerous caves, and so porous that any moisture passes rapidly through to the sea. Their surface consists in great measure of low barren hills, the highest of which, Gibbs Hill on the main island, rises to 260 feet.

In the valleys is the richest ground with red surface soil, and there are numerous patches of swamp and peat bog. There are no springs or streams, and the islanders depend for their fresh water on the rainfall collected in tanks and reservoirs.

The scenery of the islands has been described in some respects, 'as not unlike that of certain northern lake districts¹.' The most common trees are the Juniper or 'cedar,' which is constantly referred to throughout Bermudian history, and the Oleander. The flora² of the islands is not extensive. The cultivated fruits are mainly tropical or sub-tropical, such as melons and bananas, but some of the British fruits are grown, and most of the flowers which belong to our islands thrive well in the Bermudas. One of the industries consists in raising and shipping to New York, in late winter and early spring, bulbs and cut flowers. Garden vegetables, however, are the principal produce of the islands. Potatoes, onions, and tomatoes are sent to the New York market early in the year, before they have matured on the continent, and in turn the whole food supply of the islands, including even the vegetables themselves, is imported from the United States. The old agricultural resources of the Bermudas are practically extinct. Tobacco is not grown³, arrow-root is far less of a staple industry than it was, but little grain is raised, and, even as early as 1806, a visitor⁴ to the islands noted that agriculture had dwindled to nothing.

¹ From the Narrative of the *Voyage of the Challenger*: the description adds: 'the dark colour of the Juniper . . . gives the landscape a northern aspect.'

² The *Challenger* Narrative, however, states that there are more varieties of flora peculiar to the Bermudas than had been imagined.

³ An attempt was made in 1903 to revive the growth and curing of tobacco.

⁴ A Frenchman, Michaux, referred to in the *Challenger* Report.

The ordinary English domestic animals are bred in, and imported into, the Bermudas, and there are practically no wild animals in the islands; but birds and fish are plentiful, the former being in great measure migratory. There is a complete absence of mineral wealth.

The Bermudas have been said to be to America what Madeira is to Europe. The climate is mild and rather damp, moisture being brought by the prevailing south-westerly winds. In the hottest month, August, the thermometer averages over 80° ; in the coldest, February, over 50° , frost being practically unknown¹. The annual rainfall is between fifty and sixty inches; but in 1902 the total amount was 89.24 inches, an increase on the average of the previous nine years of 29.28 inches. Hurricanes occasionally occur, earthquakes very rarely, violent gales are more common and often do much damage to the garden crops.

The death-rate of the population is about the same as in England; infant mortality is high, adults are long lived. The climate is healthy, though not bracing; in spite of imperfect sanitation there is no malarial fever; and yellow fever, under the safeguard of strict quarantine laws, has not visited the island many years.

In 1780 the population of the Bermudas numbered 15,000, but from that date it began to decline. In 1812² the numbers were 10,000, the proportion of white inhabitants and slaves being about the same. In 1837, after the emancipation of the slaves, the population is stated not to have exceeded 8,500. In 1844 it had risen again to 10,000, and since that date there has been a gradual increase. The census of 1881 showed a total population of 13,948, and in 1888 the population was estimated at more than 15,000, or about 800 to the square

¹ There is a record of a slight frost on Christmas Eve, 1840, but it seems to be a solitary instance.

² The 1780 figures are taken from Dr. Ogilvy's *Bermuda Past and Present*, and those for 1812 from Bryan Edwards's *History of the West Indies*, vol. v. App. 13.

mile, over 6,000 being white and over 9,000 coloured¹. At the census taken on March 31, 1901, the resident civilian population was returned at 17,535 persons, the white population numbering 6,383 (3,149 males and 3,234 females), the coloured 11,152 (5,457 males and 5,695 females). The strength of the garrison is 2,779 of all ranks, and of the naval establishment about 1,803.

The sketch which has been given of early Bermudian history has shown that the settlers from the first were, like the Athenians to whom St. Paul preached, over-religious; and full provision is made at the present day for the support of religious ministrations.

Two-thirds of the population belong to the Church of England, and the nine parishes are divided between five rectors, the colony being included in the bishopric of Newfoundland and Bermudas, which was established in 1839. Other Christian sects, however, of whom the Wesleyans are the most numerous², share the advantages of the system of concurrent endowment which dates from 1869, and all the denominations receive grants from government funds at the rate of £10 for every hundred members at the last preceding census.

Although the records of the Bermudas are full of educational schemes, from free schools such as that kept by Norwood the Surveyor, to colleges such as the one projected by Bishop Berkeley, education does not appear to have been at any time very forward in the colony. At the present time it is compulsory, carried on in aided schools, which are under local boards of management subject to a central Board of Education.

The currency of the islands is British sterling, though gold doubloons also circulate. But there is no paper money in circulation with the exception of a very limited number of Bank of England notes. The legal tender of silver coin is unlimited. The annual revenue, nearly three-fourths of which are derived from customs duties, is sufficient to meet the current expendi-

¹ In the *Memorials of the Bermudas* it is stated (vol. i. p. 180) that towards the end of the eighteenth century the Bermudas became the home of many French families.

² Whitefield visited the Bermudas in 1748.

ture, both the one and the other being usually under £50,000. The revenue for 1903, however, amounted to £57,169, being £503 in excess of that for the previous year, notwithstanding the removal of the Boer prisoners of war, whose presence, with the extra troops forming their guard, had assisted to swell the receipts in 1901 and 1902. The public debt amounted to £46,600 at the end of 1903.

The bulk of the trade of the islands is with the United States, the imports largely exceed the exports, and among the latter onions, potatoes, and lily bulbs stand far ahead, though of late there has been an appreciable increase in the export of other vegetables.

The nearest point of land to the Bermudas is Cape Hatteras in North Carolina, at a distance of less than 600 miles. New York is a little under 700 miles distant, and Havana about 1,200. The islands are about the same distance from the nearest of the Bahamas as from New York, and about the same distance from Kingston in Jamaica as from Havana. They are rather over 700 miles from Halifax in Nova Scotia, and 900 from Antigua, the chief of the Leeward Islands. There is constant steam communication with New York, and communication with Great Britain is provided by the steamers of the Elder Dempster line, which maintain a regular service between London and the ports on the north side of Jamaica, calling at Bermuda on both the outward and homeward passages¹. Telegraphic communication with the United Kingdom has been secured by the laying of a cable between the islands and Halifax, Nova Scotia, which has been continued to Turks Islands and Jamaica, and there is an efficient telephone service worked by a private company.

The Bermudas are not a colony valuable for the produce of its soil. They are not an emporium for passing trade, or a fortress on a great commercial route. Nor are they again a land, where a large native population has become accustomed to British rule. They are a corner of the empire, which is held to the mother-country by long, unbroken, purely English tradi-

¹ This service was begun on February 18, 1905.

tions; and their present practical value consists in being one of the ocean strongholds of Great Britain. In the Atlantic they are to some extent what Mauritius is in the Indian Ocean, but far more of a fortress, far less of a country, than Mauritius.

Very small, very isolated, self-contained within their coral ring, difficult to enter, secure when entered, a little English home between England and England's children on either side of the Atlantic, the history of these islands is curiously attractive. Had they been larger and more important, it may be said that they would have had less individuality, their story would have been less continuous, and they would have been more absorbed in the main stream of events. As it is, they have lived a life of their own, passively reflecting the different phases of time and circumstance, coloured rather than changed by history. Though an Imperial station, they are still the home of a small community with local life, traditions, and institutions. Though in close touch with New York and all the trade and bustle of the modern world, they still seem to be looking back on the past, and in their main features to be what they have ever been, the peaceful summer isles of the Atlantic.

BOOKS AND PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO THE BERMUDAS.

In addition to the Blue Books and the good account given in the Colonial Office List, the following are some of the principal works on the subject:—

The Historie of the Bermudaes or Summer Islands. Hakluyt series. 1882.

Memorials of the Discovery and Early Settlement of the Bermudas or Somers Islands, 1511-1687, by Sir J. H. LEFROY. Longmans, Green & Co. 1877-9.

This most exhaustive book quotes *in extenso* the old authorities on the Bermudas.

An Historical and Statistical Account of the Bermudas from their discovery to the present time, by WILLIAM FRITH WILLIAMS. 1848.

Bermuda, by T. L. GODET, M.D. 1860.

Bermuda Past and Present, by JOHN OGILVY, M.A., M.D. Hamilton, Bermuda. 1883.

This last is a pamphlet giving a most full and clear account of the islands.

The Narrative of the *Voyage of the Challenger* should also be consulted. *Stark's Illustrated Bermuda Guide* (London, Sampson Low, Marston & Co., 1897) will be found useful for visitors.

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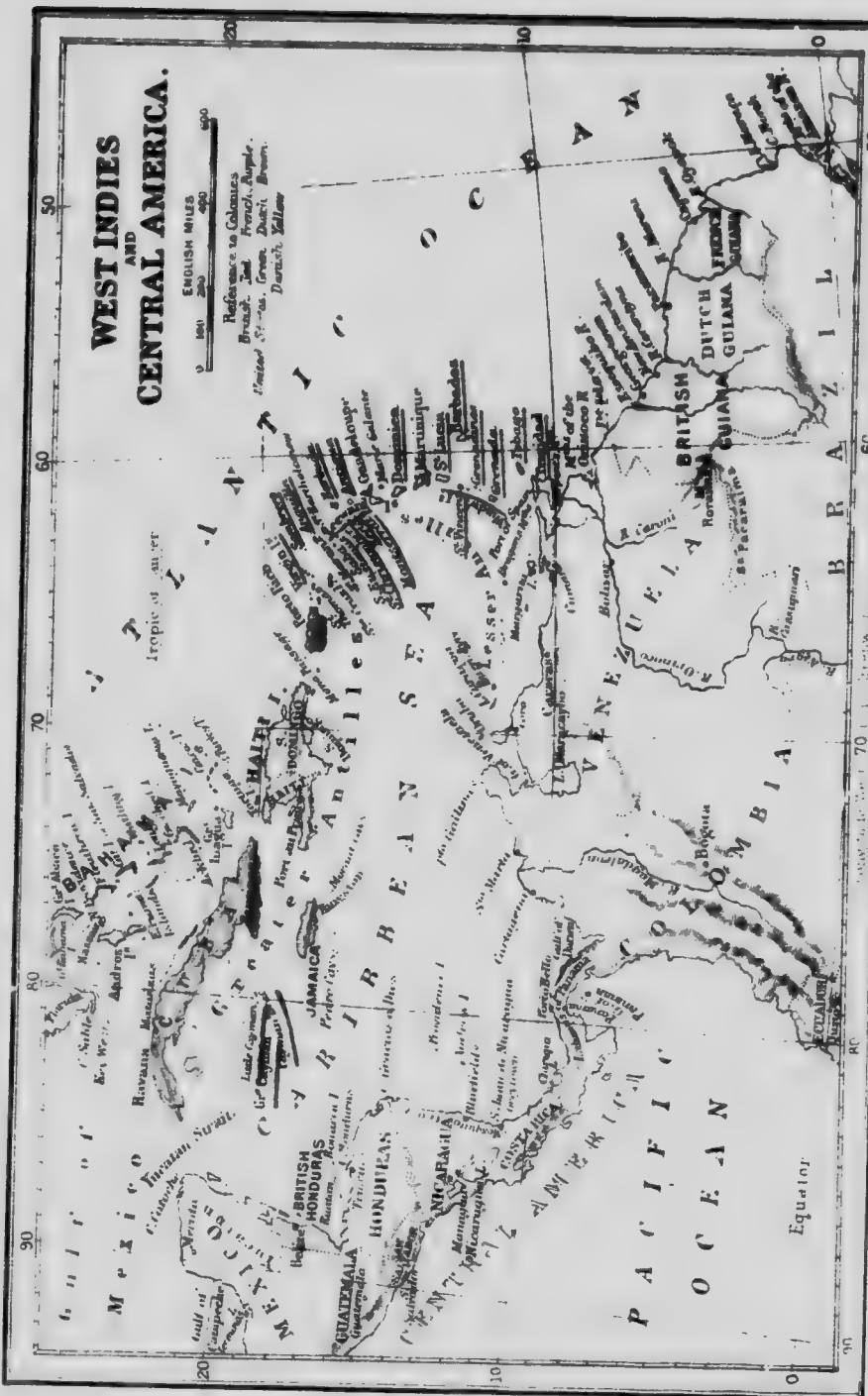
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WEST INDIES AND CENTRAL AMERICA.

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References to Colonies
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SECTION II

CHAPTER I

EUROPEAN COLONIZATION IN THE WEST INDIES

THE West Indian Islands belonging to Great Britain are at present divided into six colonies or sets of colonies, scattered through the whole semicircle of islands from Florida to the Orinoco, and not grouped in any one corner of the Archipelago.

They are the Bahamas, Jamaica with its little dependencies of the Turks and Caicos Islands and the Caymans, the Leeward Islands, Barbados, the Windward Islands, and Trinidad and Tobago.

Great Britain owns also two mainland dependencies in this part of the world, British Guiana and British Honduras.

The name West Indies recalls the fact that the discovery of the new world originated in an attempt to find a western route to the eastern seas, and that, when Columbus crossed the Atlantic and sighted land on the other side, he fancied he had reached the further coasts of the Indies. 'In consequence of this mistake of Columbus,' says Adam Smith¹, 'the name of the Indies has stuck to those unfortunate countries ever since.' The islands, or some of them, have long borne the name of Antilles. Antillia² or Antigilia was a mythical

¹ *Wealth of Nations*: chapter on 'The motives for establishing New Colonies.'

² Bryan Edwards, in his *History of the West Indies*, Book I. chap. i. note, quotes the above from Peter Martyr as the right derivation and meaning of Antilles, and gives two alternative but incorrect derivations, the first making Antilles equivalent to the Caribbean islands, 'quasi ante insulas Americæ, nempe ante majores insulas Sinus Mexicani'; the second identifying them with the islands opposed to (ante) or situated against

island¹ which found a place on mediaeval maps, and the name was applied by geographers to Hispaniola and Cuba upon their first discovery. In modern times Cuba, Hispaniola or Hayti, Jamaica, and Porto Rico have usually been known as the Greater Antilles; and the ring of smaller islands, including the Windward and the Leeward Islands, as the Lesser Antilles.

The terms Windward and Leeward themselves demand some notice. The prevailing wind in the West Indies being the north-east trade wind, the islands which were most exposed to it were known as the Windward Islands, and those which were less exposed were known as the Leeward. Accordingly, the Spaniards regarded the whole ring of Caribbean islands as Windward Islands, and identified the Leeward Islands with the four large islands which constitute the Greater Antilles as given above.

The English sailors contracted the area of Windward and Leeward, subdividing the Caribbean islands into a northern section of Leeward Islands and a southern section of Windward Islands, which project further into the Atlantic. In 1671 this division was made a political one, and the English Caribbean islands, which had before constituted one government, were separated into two groups, under two governors-in-chief; the islands to the north of the French colony of Guadeloupe forming the government of the Leeward Islands, the islands to the south of Guadeloupe forming the government of the Windward Islands. Latterly the signification has been again slightly modified; and, for administrative purposes under the Colonial Office, the Leeward Islands group now includes the more northerly section of the Caribbean islands belonging to Great Britain, from the Virgin Islands to Dominica; while the Windward Islands are artificially restricted to St. Lucia, St. Vincent,

the continent, and contrasting them with the Caribbean islands: according to this latter explanation Cuba, Hispaniola, Jamaica, and Porto Rico would be the Greater Antilles, and Curaçoa, &c., the Lesser Antilles.

¹ Compare the mythical island of St. Brandon referred to in page 177 of vol. i. of this work.

the Grenadines, and Grenada, the two most windward of all, Barbados and Tobago, being separated from the group.

Before giving any detailed account of the islands or groups of islands now belonging to Great Britain, it is almost necessary to sketch in outline the main features of West Indian history. So far as the British possessions in the archipelago are concerned, the history of the larger islands, Jamaica and Trinidad, is plain and simple; they were definitely conquered and settled by Spain, and definitely conquered and annexed by England. The smaller islands, on the other hand, with some exceptions, notably Barbados, were visited, settled, abandoned, and re-settled, handed about from one owner to another, in the competition of nations thrown first into the one scale and then into the other, in order to adjust for the time being the claims of rival governments.

The West Indies have been in the past the hunting-ground of European peoples. They are the outskirts of tropical America, and they are opposite to the home of black labour, tropical Africa. They are islands, mostly of small size, and therefore easy to deal with, to conquer, and to settle, easy to depopulate, easy to repeople, attractive, not only on account of their own wealth, but also as a starting-point for the vast and rich continent off which they lie. Given an European race from the extreme south and west of Europe, hailing from and making for southern sunny climes, if it sent its sailors across the Atlantic, the West Indies would naturally be the first point of call and, for a while at least, the most suitable resting-place. Such a race were the Spaniards; the West Indies became the private property of Castille, the northern coast of South America was known as the Spanish main¹:

¹ The Spanish main was simply the mainland, terra firma, of Spanish America as opposed to the islands: but the term 'terra firma' was specially applied to the northern part of South America, extending 'all along the North Sea from the Pacific Ocean to the mouth of the river of Amazons upon the Atlantic' [Eurke, *European Settlements in America*, Pt. III. chap. xvi], and comprising the towns of Panama, Cartagena,

and, in tracing British colonization and the rise of British colonies in the West Indies, the first point to remember is, that here the circle of British expansion intersected the circle of Spanish dominion.

The Spaniards in the West were parallel to the Portuguese in the East; but in the East it was the Dutch who broke the Portuguese power, and the English followed on the Dutch. Neither in Europe nor out of Europe did Great Britain as a rule come into collision with Portugal. It was otherwise in the case of Spain. At home and abroad the English, sometimes alone, sometimes with French or Dutch for allies, were in direct conflict with the Spaniards. In the Straits of Dover the British fleet fought and conquered the Armada. In the West Indies, in one age Drake and his followers sacked Spanish towns and harassed Spanish trade, in the next age Cromwell's forces took Jamaica.

The characteristics of the Spaniards as a colonizing nation have been pointed out in another place¹. They were a crusading, conquering people; religious and warlike; ruthless at once with natural ferocity, and with the spirit of political and ecclesiastical absolutism; great in their very inhumanity, unsound even in their greatness. They went to exact tribute of gold and silver, not to trade or cultivate the land. They were rigid monopolists; they had no private companies of their own, and they excluded as far as they could all foreign merchants; but they were monopolists because they were military despots, not traders who became military to defend their monopolies.

Such being the character of the incoming race, and such the nature and position of the lands to which they came, the history of the Spaniards in the West Indies is easily explained. In the spirit of conquerors and crusaders they looked for

and Porto Bello. Longfellow blunders in the 'Wreck of the Hesperus' when he speaks of the old sailor who 'had sailed the Spanish main.'

¹ See the author's *Introduction to a Historical Geography of the British Colonies*, chap. 6.

a large area of territory; consequently, while they discovered the whole ring of islands, they settled on the larger ones only, and on those only which lay nearer to the continent. With the smaller islands they had little dealings beyond carrying off their inhabitants for slaves. Among the British colonies in the archipelago at the present day, the two, which bear the most distinctive marks of having been Spanish possessions, are Jamaica at one end of the curve, Trinidad at the other, the two which are at once the largest of the British islands and the nearest respectively to the mainland of Central and South America.

Nor were the Spaniards conquerors only, they were also gold seekers; and the rush and restlessness caused by gold seeking and finding is only too well known in the history of colonization. As a dominant race, they did not mine and find gold for themselves, but set the natives to supply it. They rejected the slower and sounder resources of agriculture; and, when one of the chiefs of Hayti offered, instead of paying tribute in gold, to cultivate so much land and supply so much grain, they would have none of his offer¹. They wanted to become rich at once, to get gold as masters, not as workers, in the quickest and most improvident way. The masters were in great measure criminals from Spanish prisons, the workers were gentle weakly natives, to whom hard work and hurry meant death. Thus in a short time the native population of the large islands was absolutely used up, and first the deficiency was supplemented, then the complete void was filled, by black labour from Africa. Hence came the negro race in the West Indies, with its accompaniment of Maroon wars and all the various phases of the negro slavery question.

In their relations to the New World and its inhabitants the Spaniards were like the 'Chena'² cultivators of Ceylon, who cut down valuable timber in order to secure one crop of grain,

¹ See Helps' *Spanish Conquest in America*, Bk. II. chap.

² See vol. I. of this work, p. 78.

and, without properly cultivating the ground thus cleared, push further into the forest to waste and destroy, leaving behind them patches of worthless scrub. The main feature of Spanish colonization in America was its wastefulness.

To other Europeans they appeared as a powerful people, jealous, intolerant, despotic monopolists. Thus they provoked against themselves a combination of nationalities, for a while more or less in harmony against a common foe.

In 1492 Columbus discovered the New World, San Salvador, one of the Bahamas, being the first American island which he sighted and where he landed¹. From San Salvador he passed on to other islands of the same group, and thence to Cuba, Tortuga, and Hayti. Hayti, under the name of Hispaniola or Espagnola, 'little Spain,' became and remained for a while the centre of the Spanish American dominions.

Returning to Spain in the spring of 1493, he set out again in September of the same year; and, steering more to the southward than on his first voyage, he sighted Dominica, the other islands to the north, now known as the Leeward group, and Porto Rico; and, after reaching Hayti for the second time, he discovered Jamaica in 1494.

On his third voyage, in 1498, he sailed still further to the south than before, discovered Trinidad, Tobago, Grenada and other islands, and, opposite Trinidad, landed on the south American coast, having reached, without knowing it, the continent at last. Thus before the fifteenth century closed, the whole ring of West Indian islands was made known to Europe.

True to the conquering instincts of their race, the successors of Columbus pushed forward in hot haste to the continent, turning their backs on the smaller islands. Ponce de Leon discovered Florida² in 1512. In 1513 Vasco Nunez looked down on the Pacific ocean from the isthmus of Panama.

¹ See below, p. 77.

² Florida was so called 'because it was discovered on Palm Sunday, which the Spaniards call Pascha Florida' (Hakluyt).

In 1519 Cortes set forth from Cuba to conquer Mexico; and in 1531 Pizarro began his final inroad into Peru. Thus the space of a man's lifetime more than covered the Spanish conquest of America.

The sixteenth century was the great age of the two Latin peoples, the Spaniards and the Portuguese; the time of the more northerly nations had not yet come; if their explorers sailed to the tropical lands of the West or East, they sailed as to Spain or Portugal, as intruders into seas and countries which belonged to others. The owner of America was the first military power in the world; her rights had been confirmed by the Pope; and time was needed to accustom men's minds to the idea, which only a few daring adventurers at first fully realized, that the Spaniards might be beaten, and that the Pope was not infallible. If Francis the First claimed equal rights of discovery with the Spanish King, a later French government betrayed the Huguenot settlement in Florida; if Elizabeth at one time knighted Francis Drake, at another she disowned him. The adventurers had to educate public opinion, and public opinion had to force the hands of kings and governments, generations had to rise up which had not inherited the fear of Spain or reverence for the Papal authority, before the northern peoples of Europe began systematically to settle in the West Indies.

English ships were first seen in West Indian waters in 1516, when two vessels under the command of Sebastian Cabot and Pert touched at Hispaniola and Porto Rico. In 1519 another ship visited the same two islands, but a request for permission to trade at Hispaniola was answered by fire from the batteries. About 1528 the French found their way into the West Indies, and the Dutch were trading there in 1542. The latter half of the century was marked by the exploits of the English sailors of the Elizabethan age. Hawkins began his slave-trading in 1562. Drake accompanied him in 1568, and took to privateering on his own account about 1570. Grenville, Oxenham, and others followed; and, last and greatest among

them, Sir Walter Raleigh tried his hand at colonizing Virginia and at exploring Guiana. Hawkins was the trader, Drake the freebooter, Raleigh the colonizer, too romantic to succeed, but a noble link between the age of adventure and the age of settlement, full of schemes, which were carried out by more businesslike though less chivalrous men, when the gilt of discovery had worn off and Eldorado had proved a dream. Less perhaps is heard of Dutch and French adventurers in the West Indies during the sixteenth century than of English, but the two former nations made more definite attempts to settle on the neighbouring shores of the continent within the range of the Spaniards and Portuguese. Dutch settlers are said to have planted themselves on the coast of Guiana as early as 1580¹; while the French Huguenots, under the home guidance of the great Coligny, attempted an unsuccessful settlement in Brazil in 1555, and in Florida in 1562. Persecuted by Catherine de Medici and her sons, the Huguenots had stronger motives for leaving France than the Puritans had in later years for leaving England; and Ribault with his company went to the New World and landed in Florida with other views than those of mere adventure. This attempt to found a colony was recognized in time by the Spanish government as a serious menace to their power. Betrayed by the court at home, and in all the straits of early settlement, the colonists were attacked and savagely murdered by a Spanish force under Menendez; and, though the massacre was fully avenged by their countryman Dominique de Gourgues, a scheme was thus cut short which had the seeds of permanence and greatness, which might have been a starting-point for French to rival Spaniards in Central America, and for Protestants to wedge themselves into the circle of Catholic dominions.

The opening of the seventeenth century found the great Latin power on the downward path, broken by Maurice of Orange and his troops, and by Dutch and English sailors.

¹ See below, p. 271.

Philip the Second had died, but the evil which he did to his own nation lived after him, while the relentless strength of Spanish despotism was following him to his grave. Portugal, subject to the Spanish crown from 1580 to 1640, shared the decline of her rulers. France was taking the place of Spain as the leading continental power, for the Bourbons had come to the throne, and on the French was dawning an era of absolute monarchy with strong ministers and large armies, accompanied by perpetual military aggression and perpetual stifling of civil and religious liberty at home. The Dutch, still at war with the Spaniards, were playing a winning game, soon to obtain a truce with virtual independence, and finally to be fully acknowledged as a sovereign power by the peace of Westphalia in 1648. Great Britain became one kingdom under James the First; but her Stuart rulers, out of touch with national sympathies and antipathies, were shortly to be involved in civil war. In the West Indies the small islands were claimed but not occupied by Spain. They lay at the backs of the Spaniards in America, and not on their direct path when coming from Europe to their western dominions. They were outlying corners of the Spanish property, where small bands of trespassers might encroach, without at first attracting the notice of the landlord.

Such was the outlook of the world, when English, French, and Dutch came to colonize the West Indies. Their career was widely different from that of the Spaniards. Spanish colonization, or rather Spanish conquest and settlement in America was, as has been noticed, rapid and wholesale; English, French, and Dutch colonization, on the contrary, was, at first, slow, tentative, and hesitating; and the record of the early settlement of these peoples in the West Indies is, for the most part, a bewildering series of dissolving views. But there are a few broad facts which help to make the history intelligible.

In relation to Europe, the West Indies were a distant part of the world, cut off by a long stretch of open ocean, not to be reached by coasting gradually from port to port. In these far-

off lands, one European people only, the Spaniards, had for a century made themselves at home. They had conquered, organized, and built up a system; and the completeness with which they did their work as conquerors in part neutralized their defects as colonizers. Consequently the decline of the Spanish power in Europe was not at once followed by the break up of their dependencies; they were strong in America apart from their strength in Europe, and the distance of their possessions was in a sense their protection. Hence the interlopers from other countries, when they intended not to make a passing raid merely but to settle, came very cautiously and gradually, as men who had no foothold in these seas against a people who were at home there. This it was that made the intruders, though of different nationalities, so often keep the peace with each other even in the narrow limits of a small island, common fear proving a bond of union. English and French settled side by side in St. Kitts, English and Dutch took joint possession of Santa Cruz, French and Dutch still share St. Martin, while the buccaneers formed a kind of commonwealth recruited from all races and held together in enmity to Spain.

Nor was it only fear of Spain which made the colonization of the minor West Indian islands a more gradual process than the Spanish conquest of America. The Carib inhabitants of the small islands were a stronger and more determined race than the natives whom the Spaniards had killed out in Hayti. In Dominica they were for many years little disturbed by Europeans. In St. Vincent they still numbered some 5,000, when transported at the end of the eighteenth century. Caribs from Martinique and St. Vincent, with, it was said, French assistance, drove out the first English settlers in St. Lucia; and their relations to the French in Dominica, Guadeloupe, and elsewhere, sometimes hostile, sometimes very friendly, according to their treatment by one governor or another, were similar to the relations between the Indians and French in Canada. The natives were in truth a very distinct factor in the history of West

Indian settlement, strong enough to be carefully reckoned with, useful as allies, dangerous as enemies.

The Dutch, French, and English who went to settle in the West Indies did not go like the Spaniards to get gold¹, they went there rather to cultivate the ground and to trade. For this reason again their colonizing work was done gradually and was spread through the islands. There was no rush of settlers to certain points only, where gold and silver were to be procured and which might be deserted when the gold and silver failed. Among agricultural products the first settlers appear to have applied themselves mainly to growing tobacco², especially in St. Kitts, and cotton was also grown; but, after the art of sugar-making had been introduced into Barbados from Brazil³, the cultivation of the sugar-cane became the staple industry of the West Indies.

The trade which fed the early settlements was in great measure, especially in the case of the Dutch, contraband trade with the Spanish colonies; and here again the course of events was influenced by the distance of these West Indian dependencies from the seats of government. The home authorities generally had their hands full and could not adequately control their subjects in America. War or peace between two nations in Europe did not necessarily mean war or peace in the West Indies, unless it suited the interests of the traders, whether Spanish, Dutch, French, or English, to follow the lead of their respective governments. The treaties which were made, as, for instance, the treaty between Great Britain and Spain in 1630, the treaty between France and Spain in 1668, and others, did not always explicitly extend to the West Indian possessions of the contracting powers. On the other hand treaties were some-

¹ e.g. in the *Modern part of an Universal History* [*History of America*], published in 1764, it is stated of the French in Hayti that 'far from imitating the policy of the Spaniards, they have not even begun to search either for gold or silver.'

² Similarly in the Bermudas tobacco was for a long time the staple product. See above, p. 16.

³ See below, pp. 61, 181.

times made on the spot, having a local bearing only, as for instance the treaty in 1627 between the first French and English settlers in St. Kitts, one provision of which was that, in the event of war breaking out between the two nations in Europe, they should not make war on each other in St. Kitts, 'except they have been expressly commanded so to do by their princes'.¹

Spanish settlement in America was carried on directly under the Crown; the grant made to Columbus was rather that of a hereditary governorship than of the ownership of so much American land²; but, when French and English began to settle in the West Indies, they came as private proprietors or as members of trading companies, holding from or incorporated under the Crown, but for local purposes practically independent of the royal authority. The Spanish government was stronger when Spaniards first went to America, than the Dutch, French, or English governments when their subjects took to dealing with and settling in the West Indies; and, when Columbus made his discoveries, Ferdinand and Isabella, by countenancing him, did not run the risk of infringing the rights of some other European power. Consequently their only care was to give to him and other adventurers such privileges as would be enough to encourage them to continue their work, while retaining to the full the supremacy and ownership of the Crown. The other European powers, a century later, were not so ready or able to take full responsibility, and their subjects were by nature and training more accustomed to independent action. Hence came the system of grants to proprietors and companies, which kept the government in the background, with a reserve of profit to be looked for in the event of successful settlement, and a reserve of right to be waived or enforced according to political convenience. The grants varied according to the circumstances and temper of each government and nation. The Dutch were traders, and the privilege given by the States General to the West India Company was mainly the right of exclusive trade

¹ See below, p. 139.

² See below, p. 95.

in Western Africa and America, especially with a view to the slave trade; but, as the Netherlands government was a republican mercantile government, so both the West India and the East India Companies were national companies representing the state under another name, and the efforts of the West India Company were directed to open war with the Portuguese and to the conquest of Brazil. On the other hand the grants made by the Stuarts, such, for instance, as the grant to the Earl of Carlisle, were rather in the nature of gifts of private property by one person to another. The rulers' ignorance of exact geographical limits, an ignorance which was very convenient, made these grants often remarkably vague. Something, they felt, might be lost hereafter by being too explicit; it was well to speak in general terms at first, and afterwards to interpret them according to circumstances; it was better to include too much than to run the risk of not being able to claim in after years some desirable island or continent. The first French West India Company, the Company of the islands of America, was given, in 1626, the right to colonize St. Christopher, Barbados, and any other islands 'at the entrance of Peru,' from Lat. 11° N. to Lat. 18° N., which were not possessed by any Christian prince; and their privileges were extended in 1642, so as to give them the property of the islands from Lat. 10° N. to Lat. 30° N.; while King Charles the First's grant to the Earl of Carlisle, which, as will be seen¹, clashed with a previous grant by his father to another Englishman, James Ley, Earl of Marlborough, gave the grantee the proprietorship of all the Caribbean islands.

It has been noticed that the trade of the West Indian settlements was in great measure contraband trade in West Indian waters. There was also another branch of traffic in which the colonies did not deal directly with the mother-countries, viz. the trade in negro slaves from the West coast of Africa. From their geographical position, the West coast of Africa and the

¹ See below, p. 173.

West Indies have always been closely connected in the history of colonization, and all the European nations, except the Spaniards¹, who found their way to tropical America, had a foothold also on the African coast. The charter of the Dutch West India Company included West Africa as well as America. The French and English companies, formed with exclusive rights to the African trade, had almost as direct a bearing on West Indian interests as the West India companies themselves; and the slave trade became to the West Indies not merely a means to an end, not merely a method of finding labour for the sugar industry, but an end in itself, a most important factor in West Indian prosperity. Thus, when the African Company was incorporated with the exclusive right of importing slaves into the West Indian colonies of Great Britain, Barbados was seriously crippled, not only because the supply of labour was made more costly, but also because Barbadian merchants were deprived of a lucrative trade; and the right of supplying slaves to the Spanish colonies, secured to one nation or another by the *Assiento* contract, was considered so valuable as to be a matter of international concern, leading on at least one occasion to an European war².

Monopoly, to be effective, must be strongly backed, and well defined in its objects as well as in the area over which it extends. These conditions were wanting in the case of the West Indies. Here was a group of dependencies, far removed from the seat of monopoly, disjointed and belonging some to one people, some to another, some to more than one at the same time, dealing in great measure with each other and with places outside of Europe. Free trade to some extent, whether formally recognized or not, was to them a necessity. The monopolists, on the other hand, were in the main not the governments, but

¹ The Spaniards were precluded by the papal line of division between Spain and Portugal from occupying the African coast, and they bought their slaves from other nations. Their present West African possessions of Fernando Po and Annobon were ceded to them by the Portuguese in 1778.

² In 1739. See below, p. 59.

private companies more irritating to deal with and less able to control. People understand, if they do not like, paying a protective duty to the Crown or nation, but they resent being hampered by restrictions on their industry imposed for the benefit of private individuals¹; and in colonization the very existence of private companies and of private proprietors is a standing witness to private enterprise; they are themselves a half-way house between despotism and freedom, and as such they invite infringement of their own monopolies. Accordingly history in the West Indies and elsewhere shows that where a settlement has been begun under this system, as the settlers have strengthened and multiplied, the enterprise which brought them to the colony has made them in their turn enterprising and impatient of petty interference, that local interests become too strong for the interests of distant proprietors, that charters break down and the rights revert to the home government, leaving the future struggle, if there be one, to lie between colonial liberties and Imperial interests, not between private landlords and private tenants.

The three main elements in the population of the West Indian islands, after they were opened up as a field for colonization, were the native inhabitants, the European planters and traders, and the African slave labourers. There is, however, a fourth element to be noticed, viz. the European bond-servants. The Spaniards and Portuguese had been in the habit of transporting the contents of the prisons at home to their colonies, but they did so in order to secure colonists; and, when Spanish criminals reached Hispaniola, they took their place among the masters, not among the servants, with the obvious result that the natives of America were subjected to the inhumanities of the most depraved of Europeans. The case was rather different when the time came for the more northerly nations of Europe to colonize the smaller West Indian islands. The islands were limited in space, and, if they were to be laid out in plantations,

¹ Cp. the case of the Bermudas, above, p. 16.

required no very large number of free proprietors. The world too was a hundred years older, men were more accustomed to the idea of emigration to the New World, and political and religious dissensions in England and France made many Englishmen and Frenchmen ready to look out for new homes across the sea. The difficulty then, as a rule¹, was not so much to find a constant supply of colonists ready to take up land, as to procure labour for the plantations of existing settlers. Hence arose the system of transporting those who had broken the law or offended the government in the mother-country, to be in bondage, usually for a term of years, to West Indian planters; and on such a system there attended as a matter of course the iniquitous practice of kidnapping innocent persons, mostly children, and shipping them off from Bristol or from St. Malo or Dieppe to a distant land, where their labour would be utilized and no questions would be asked as to how that labour had been procured. Of these white bond-servants many were political offenders, of whom the home government were glad to be rid, Scots taken prisoners at the battle of Worcester, Irish Roman Catholics who by intrigue and conspiracy made their hatred of England still felt in the land of their bondage, English followers of Monmouth, and others, of a very different type from the Spanish criminal but meeting with a far worse fate². The white servant was as a rule less valuable to the

¹ Of course there was also a certain amount of indiscriminate emigration in addition to the systematic transportation of forced labourers; e.g. in the case of Jamaica, which it was desirable to make English as quickly as possible in order to make good its conquest, Cromwell ordered 'all known, idle, masterless robbers and vagabonds' in Scotland, male and female, to be transported to the island, and his Council voted that 1,000 young girls in Ireland and as many young men should be listed and sent over. [See Long's *History of Jamaica*, Bk. I. chap. xi. sec. 1.]

² As to the system of white labour in Virginia and the American colonies, see Doyle's *History of the English in America*, vol. i. chap. 13. Carlyle in his *Oliver Cromwell*, Part IX, refers to the practice of sending political prisoners to the West Indies: 'A terrible Protector this . . . is very apt to "barbadoes" an unruly man,—has sent and sends us by hundreds to Barbadoes, so that we have made an active verb of it, "barbadoes you."'

planter than the negro slave, not only as not being so well fitted to work under tropical suns, but also because he was usually only bound for a few years. To the Barbadians the ordinary worth of a Christian servant on shipboard, except in the case of a good mechanic, is stated to have been £10, whereas £20 to £25 was paid for a negro¹. In the case of the earlier French colonies, the fact that the term of slavery was limited to three years is distinctly stated to have led to harsh treatment of the Engagés, the cruelty of the masters proceeding 'from their having them for three years only, which made them spare the negroes rather than these poor creatures².' But, though the fate of the white labourer, working on a tropical plantation, must have been a terrible one, he had before him the prospect of eventual freedom, if he lived; and it may reasonably be supposed that, in most cases, Europeans hesitated to mete out to men of the same race, colour, and religion as hard measure as was dealt to African negroes.

Barbados claims to be the oldest British colony in the West Indies; but, though possession was formally taken, the island in 1605, no settlement was formed there till 1624-5. St. Kitts therefore takes precedence, having received its first English settlers in 1623, though 1625 is the year in which the colonization of the island took formal shape. In that year French and English landed there on the same day, and shortly after-

¹ From Blome's *Description of the Island of Jamaica, with the other Isles and Territories in America to which the English are Related*, published in 1672.

² From Du Tertre, quoted in Southey's *Chronological History of the West Indies*, vol. i. p. 286. A similar account is given in Esquemeling's *Buccaneers of America*. (Translation published in 1684.) The writer, a Dutchman, who had had experience of contract service in the West Indies under the French, prior to becoming a buccaneer, states, 'These (the negroes) they endeavour in some measure to preserve, as being their perpetual bondsmen; but as for their white servants, they care not whether they live or die, seeing they are to continue no longer than three years in their service.' He also states that white servants in the English colonies were usually bound for seven years. A picture of the treatment of English political prisoners in Barbados is given in Mr. Besant's novel, *For Faith and Freedom*.

wards divided the island between them. The colonization of the smaller islands then began at the end of the first quarter of the seventeenth century; St. Kitts was the earliest nucleus of French and English settlement in the West Indies; and tobacco was the product which attracted the first settlers.

Better organized and better backed from home than the French, the English, in spite of Spanish opposition, soon began to settle more or less systematically in the neighbouring islands. English settlers from St. Kitts went to Nevis and Barbuda in 1628, and to Antigua and Montserrat in 1632; while as early as 1625 English and Dutch took joint possession of Santa Cruz or St. Croix¹.

The commissions of the governors of Barbados included Dominica, St. Vincent, and St. Lucia; but, great and rapid as was the progress of Barbados itself, it was hardly a nursery for settling the Windward Islands. In 1625 an attempt was made to settle Tobago, and in 1638 possession was taken of St. Lucia: but the experiment at Tobago proved abortive, and the more promising settlement at St. Lucia was in about three years' time driven out by the Caribs from other islands, whose enmity had been roused by English treachery towards some natives of Dominica. In short the two main points of early English colonization in the West Indian islands were St. Kitts and Barbados; but, while the English overflowed from St. Kitts into the neighbouring group of islands, Barbados, lying apart from the other West Indian islands, answered to its geographical position by developing its own resources and increasing its own population, without being at first to any great extent the birthplace of systematic settlement elsewhere. This result was no doubt partly due to the fact that in the larger Windward Islands the Caribs were stronger and more numerous than in the smaller islands to the north; and, where the native element was an important factor, the French² made greater way than the English.

¹ See below, p. 143.

² The French account of the feeling of the Caribs towards their

The settlement formed at St. Kitts in 1625 was the first regular French colony in the West Indies, though Frenchmen had settled both in that and in other islands at an earlier date; and in 1626 the founders of the colony succeeded in inducing Richelieu to incorporate a French West India Company¹ under the title of 'The Company of the islands of America.' Under the auspices of this company Guadeloupe and Martinique were colonized in 1635; of the two islands which lie between them, Mariegalante was colonized from Guadeloupe in 1648, while Dominica, though hardly recognized as a French colony, had as early as 1632 more than three hundred French settlers upon it; and in 1650 French colonization spread still further south to the Windward Islands of St. Lucia and Grenada.

In the more northerly Leeward group, French colonists were in 1648 sent to St. Bartholomew and St. Martin, which latter island they shared with the Dutch; and in 1650 a French settlement was established in Santa Cruz, where the English had already ousted the Dutch and had been in their turn ousted by the Spaniards. Meanwhile, the buccaneers' station at Tortuga off the northern coast of Hayti had in 1640 been placed under

European visitors, given in the *British Empire in America* [London, 1741], is as follows: 'Of other nations they (the Caribs) say, the English and Spaniards are not good at all, that the Dutch have as much goodness as a man's hand as far as the elbow; but, like true barbarians, that the French are as both arms, which they stretch out to show the greatness of their worth.' The same book gives the following instance of French aptitude for dealing with savages which should be compared with what is said on the same subject in the author's Introduction to *A Historical Geography of the British Colonies*, pp. 25, 84. The Caribs go stark naked both men and women, and the French, who are a very complaisant people, to shew these barbarians how well bred they are, when they go among them, strip themselves to be of the mode.'

¹ See above, p. 43. The privileges of this Company were extended in 1635 and 1642. In 1651 their rights to the islands of St. Kitts, St. Bartholomew, St. Martin, and Santa Cruz were transferred to the Knights of Malta, the transfer being made in absolute bequest, subject to the sovereignty of the Crown of France, in 1653. In 1664-5, Colbert being then in power, the Company was reconstituted; in 1665 they bought back the islands of St. Kitts, Santa Cruz, and St. Bartholomew from the Knights of Malta; and finally in 1674 they were dissolved, and the whole of the islands annexed to the Crown.

a French governor, so that by the middle of the seventeenth century the French had not only firmly planted themselves in the larger Carib islands, but had begun to encroach upon the inner ring of the Spanish American dominions.

While the French and English were ringing the changes on the West Indian islands, they were also steadily colonizing the mainland to the north, the French in Canada, the English in what is now the United States. Similarly the third great colonizing nation of the time, the Dutch, also directed their efforts to the mainland, especially in South America¹. But here the new-comers were still in tropical lands, and in lands where the Latin race had already forestalled them. The Portuguese, who owned Brazil, acted as a magnet to the Dutch in both East and West; wherever they went, the Dutch followed at their heels; and, when they fell under Spanish sway, they became *ipso facto* at open war with the Netherlands, the revolted subjects of Spain. To wrest the northern half of Brazil from the Spanish-Portuguese power was the great aim of the Dutch West India Company, and it was fully enough to absorb their resources without the addition of any large schemes of West Indian settlement. Outside of Brazil, they settled along the northern coast of South America more than in the islands. Always working with a view to trade, they yet showed rather as conquerors in Brazil, as colonists in Guiana, as traders pure and simple in the islands.

As early as 1580 Dutch vessels were carrying on a salt trade off the Spanish main, along what is now the coast of Venezuela, a trade which in 1605 the Spaniards vainly attempted to put down. In the early years of the seventeenth century Dutch stations appear to have been established on the Guiana coast between the mouth of the Orinoco and that of the Amazon². In 1624, three or four years after the incor-

¹ It will be remembered that they settled also in New Netherlands, now New York.

² See below, p. 271.

poration of the Dutch West India Company, Van Peere, a Flushing merchant, began to trade and colonize along the Berbice river; and in 1634 possession was taken of the island of Curaçoa, which became a head-quarters for contraband trade with the Spanish colonists on the mainland¹. Wha. Curaçoa was to the coast of South America, St. Eustatius was to the northerly group of West Indian islands. Occupied in 1632, and in 1635 colonized anew from Flushing the great Dutch port for West Indian commerce, it was the centre from which the Dutch traded indifferently with all nationalities in the neighbouring islands. It is described as the earliest colony in the West Indian islands which had 'any dependence on the States general of the United Provinces²,' but it was not the first Dutch settlement in the Leeward group, Dutchmen having gone to Santa Cruz as early as 1625. Of the other little islands in the same part of the archipelago, Saba was occupied by the Dutch in 1640, and St. Martin shared with the French in 1648; while in the latter year Dutch buccaneers are said to have been the first settlers in Tortola, one of the Virgin Islands.

In the same year that St. Eustatius was first colonized, 1632, a small Dutch settlement was sent to Tobago³. The attraction of this island consisted in its nearness to the large Spanish island of Trinidad and to the South American coast; it was in short a sister station to Curaçoa. In 1654 it was colonized on a larger scale from Flushing, and, though the West India Company appear to have abandoned all claim upon it

¹ Burke [*European Settlements in America*, Pt. V. chap. vii] says of Curaçoa, 'The trade of this island, even in time of peace, is reputed to be worth to the Dutch no less than £500,000 sterling annually, but in time of war the profit is far greater, for then it is in a manner the common emporium of the West Indies.' See also what Adam Smith says of Curaçoa and St. Eustatius in the chapter on 'The Causes of the Prosperity of New Colonies.'

² From *The History of the Caribby Islands*, book II. chap. i. (date of the English translation, 1666).

³ See below, pp. 257, 258.

in 1662, it remained a Dutch possession till 1677, when it was forcibly taken by the French.

In the West Indies, as elsewhere, the striking feature in the Dutch was the clearness with which they saw their object, the steadiness with which they pursued it, and the prudence which never led them beyond it. Their rôle in the islands was to trade, and their settlements were merely footholds for trade. Of those footholds, Curaçoa with the little adjoining islands of Oruba and Buen Ayre, St. Eustatius, Saba, and half St. Martin are Dutch at the present day. The trade was to some extent a tobacco trade between the northern islands and the Zeeland towns of Middleburg and Flushing, but far more a carrying and a contraband trade. From Curaçoa the Dutch traded with the Spanish main, from St. Eustatius with Porto Rico and Hispaniola, ministering to the interests of the Spanish colonists, and setting at nought the prohibitions of the Spanish government. Their relations to the English and French islands were on the same lines; in time of peace they carried their sugar¹, in time of war they found supplies for the combatants. In short, in the words of an old writer, they were in perpetual alliance with ready money, let it be English, French, or Spanish.

Though in no way concerned with the early settlement of the islands, it will be convenient here to notice the connexion of the two Scandinavian nations, the Danes and the Swedes, with the West Indies. The Danes occupied St. Thomas in 1671, they sent some colonists from that island to St. John in 1719, they bought Santa Cruz from the French in 1733, and the Danish West India Company was incorporated in 1734. The Danes played the same part in the archipelago as the Dutch.

¹ In Long's *Jamaica* [bk. I. chap. xi. sec. 2] it is stated that before the time of Cromwell the trade of the English sugar islands was wholly managed by the Dutch. [Cf. the case of Barbados, below, p. 180.] About 1669 the Spaniards, for want of ships and sailors of their own, began to hire Dutch shipping to carry on their West Indian traffic. (See Southey, vol. ii. p. 88.)

but on a less extensive scale. They imported slaves from their West African stations; in St. Thomas they secured one of the finest natural harbours in the West Indies, and here they traded with all alike, leaving to the larger nations the more ambitious work of settlement, conquest, and annexation.

The Swedes came late to the West Indies, and have gone again. In 1784 they received St. Bartholomew from France in exchange for trading privileges granted to French subjects in the Swedish port of Gottenburg; they established a national West India Company to develop their new colony, they made its port free to all nations, and, after holding it for nearly a century, they handed it back to the French in 1878. At the beginning of the last century Sweden nearly secured a far more valuable West Indian possession than St. Bartholomew. In 1813, by the treaty of Stockholm, the British government contracted to hand over the conquered island of Guadeloupe to the Swedes, again in return for special privileges to be granted to British traders in Gottenburg and other Swedish ports. The contract, however, was never fulfilled; by the treaty of Paris in the following year, Guadeloupe was restored to France, and Sweden lost the chance of owning one of the richest of all the West Indian islands.

No sketch of the early colonization of the West Indian islands would be complete without some notice of the buccaneers. As the decay of the Roman empire let in a flood of barbarians, who gradually crystallized into the nations of modern Europe, so the decadence of the Spanish power, coupled with the maintenance of Spanish pretensions, gave rise to bands of freebooters, whose way was on the sea, who indirectly contributed to the colonization of the islands by other European powers than Spain, and who gradually disappeared as each island in turn received some definite stable government. The buccaneers were of all races; among their leaders were Englishmen as Willis, Welshmen as Morgan, Dutchmen as Mansvelt, Frenchmen as L'Olonnois. Fighting was their salva-

tion, government was their ruin. Common hostility to Spain, revenge for Spanish cruelty, resentment at Spanish monopoly, held them together; and, as the power of Spain became more and more broken, while her English, French, and Dutch rivals began more and more to turn their arms against each other, so the mixed brotherhood of pirates, after going on from strength to strength, gradually dissolved into the various nationalities of which it was composed, until at length the lawless force, which had been banded against the despotism of one power, became absorbed in the colonizing nations, by which that power had been supplanted, and to one or other of which they belonged by birth.

The name buccaneer tells its own story. In Burke's words, 'the pirates, whom we called buccaneers improperly, the French denominated *flibustiers*, from the Dutch flyboats, in which they made their first expeditions. The buccaneers are no more than persons who hunt wild cattle in America for their hides and tallow. Some of these joined the *flibustiers* in their first expeditions; and from them we named the whole body, buccaneers¹. It was in the very birthplace and first centre of the Spanish-American empire that the buccaneers seem to have come into existence. In the island of Hispaniola, depopulated by Spanish cruelty, and less esteemed by the home government when once the Spanish power had taken root on the mainland, there were large tracts given over to herds of wild cattle. Adventurers, mainly Frenchmen, came to the island to hunt the cattle: they established themselves on the north-western coast, out of the immediate reach of the Spanish settlements, and they brought in their train the *flibustiers* or sea-pirates, and a certain following of planters and traders. Their ranks were recruited by the Spanish attack on the French and English settlements in St. Kitts in 1629, and, at a later date, by Dutch

¹ From the *European Settlements in America*, Pt. V. chap. ii. The 'boucan,' from which the word buccaneer comes, was a wooden grill on which the hunters smoked or roasted their beef. See s.v. in the *New English Dictionary*.

refugees from Santa Cruz. As, when the forest has been cut down, its place is taken by more or less worthless jungle, so in the lands, which the Spaniards had made desolate, there came a growth of lawless men, the result of the past and the fore-runners of the future. About 1627 the little island of Tortuga off the north-west of Hispaniola became their head-quarters. A Spanish attack on the settlement, organized and carried out with Spanish ruthlessness, in 1634, only cemented the freebooters in stronger union, and inspired them with fresh hatred and determination. Under a British commander, Willis, they again occupied Tortuga, which, in or about 1640, was brought definitely under French control, the English element being expelled in a moment of national jealousy, but the port being left open to adventurers of all nationalities. In 1654 the Spaniards drove the French from the island, but in the following year English and French returned again, and by this time the coasts of Hispaniola and Jamaica alike were swarming with privateers.

The age of the buccaneers covers the last three quarters of the seventeenth century. Once the French had a foothold off Hispaniola and the English were established in Jamaica, their freebooting countrymen were strengthened in their inroads on the Spanish power. Their relations to the governments, whose subjects they nominally were, were similar to those of the privateering sailors of the preceding century. The public at large in the non-Spanish colonies sympathized with them, because they profited by their exploits. Kings¹ and governors sometimes commissioned them and shared their plunder, more often connived at them, occasionally prohibited² and disowned them. They were bound by treaties only so far as it suited their convenience³, and they accepted official control only so far as

¹ e. g. Charles the Second of England, who in so many words is said to have been in partnership with the buccaneers. (Bryan Edwards, bk. II. chap. iii. and note.)

² e. g. by Article 4 of the treaty of Madrid between Great Britain and Spain in 1670. (Southey, vol. ii. p. 91.)

³ e. g. in the case of the Aix la Chapelle treaty of 1668 between France

it did not interfere with their trade¹. As years went on they grew stronger and bolder in their expeditions, penetrating even inland. In 1671 Morgan crossed the isthmus of Darien and sacked Panama; and in the next twenty years every hole and corner of the Spanish main was harried, and the whole Pacific coast was ravaged and plundered.

The buccaneers utterly paralysed the Spanish power, and literally drove every Spanish trader out of the West Indian seas. They made the beginnings of a colony in the Virgin Islands and elsewhere, and they did much more, for it was to them that Jamaica owed its strength and prosperity as an English island², and it was they who laid the foundation of the great French settlement in St. Domingo. More commonplace and more ruffianly than the adventurers of the Elizabethan age, they yet did a certain amount of good work, and command a certain amount of admiration. In the main they were staunch and loyal to each other, and in the main they fought neither with small nor great save only with the King of Spain. Ruthless, fearing neither God nor man, they dealt out to the Spaniards the same measure of inhumanity which the Spaniards had dealt to the natives of America and to the other Europeans who intruded into their lands. They were the advanced column of invaders, breaking into the inner ring of Spanish dominions, while behind them their compatriots were settling the outer circle of islands. They were savage opponents of all monopoly, and their free-booting was a declaration, written in fire and blood, of the right and of the advantage of free trade in the New World³.

The taking of Jamaica by Cromwell's forces in 1655 was the

and Spain, by which the buccaneers refused to be bound as not having been consulted in framing it. (Southey, vol. ii. p. 86.)

¹ e.g. in the case of the French governor sent to Tortuga and St. Domingo in 1670. The buccaneers accepted him only on the distinct understanding that their trade was not to be interfered with. (Southey, vol. ii. p. 94.)

² Long in his *History of Jamaica*, bk. I. chap. xi. sec. 6, says, 'It is to the buccaneers that we owe the possession of Jamaica at this hour.'

³ A good sketch is given s. v. in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

blundering beginning of a new era in West Indian history. It was the first permanent annexation by another European power of an integral part of Spanish America. Henceforward the course of events in the West Indies was more directly influenced by European politics. In 1640 Portugal had shaken off the Spanish yoke. In 1648, by the peace of Westphalia, Spain had recognized the United Netherlands as a free and sovereign power. In 1643 Louis the Fourteenth had come to the throne, and the long reign, which began with Condé's rout of the Spanish infantry at Rocroi was to close with the War of the Spanish succession, and the attempt to unite Spain and her world-wide dominions to the Crown of France. Cromwell's strong guidance had brought Great Britain back into line with the powers of continental Europe; and, though the ebbing wave of civil strife and the French sympathies of the last two Stuart kings for a while made her foreign policy half-hearted, the accession of William the Third placed her again in the van of the opposition to French aggression and French intrigues. Henceforward till Waterloo the history of Europe is a quick succession of wars and treaties, acting and reacting on the East and West Indies.

The civil wars of Great Britain had done much for her American colonies. Puritans and Royalists in turn had thronged across the sea; and so rapid had been the growth of some of the islands, notably Barbados, that the colonists furnished a contingent of 5,000 men to the expedition which was repulsed from Hispaniola and took Jamaica, 3,500 of whom came from Barbados alone. The tide was now beginning to set against private ownership of colonies and unlimited monopolies. In 1663 the proprietary rights over Barbados were cancelled; in 1674 Colbert dissolved the French West India Company and brought all the French islands directly under the Crown; and in the same year, the Dutch, while reorganizing their West India Company, limited its monopoly to the trade of the African coast. In 1660 a peace was signed at Guadeloupe between the English,

French, and Caribs, by which the natives were secured from European interference in St. Vincent and Dominica on condition of keeping the peace elsewhere¹. The peace of Breda, concluded in 1667 between the English, French, and Dutch, contained various provisions relating to the West Indies, signed only to be broken. In or about the same year English logcutters began to follow their trade off the coast of Yucatan, a trade which was afterwards to bring about the present colony of British Honduras; while an English expedition to the coast of Guiana overpowered the French settlement at Cayenne and retook from the Dutch the colony of Surinam, the latter being finally given up to the Netherlands in 1674 in exchange for New York. By the peace of Madrid between Great Britain and Spain, signed in 1670, the Spanish government definitely recognized the possessions which Great Britain had acquired in the West Indies; and in 1697 the general peace of Ryswick closed the seventeenth century, giving a short breathing space to the armed powers of Europe, and securing to France 'the best and most fertile part of the best and most fertile island in the West Indies and perhaps in the world', the west of Hispaniola, where Frenchmen had so long hunted, traded, and settled, and which grew into the great French colony of St. Domingo².

The stormy eighteenth century opened with wars and rumours of wars. The childless King of Spain died in 1700, and over the vacant throne the strife of nations began again. The armies of France were broken by Marlborough and Prince Eugene; and, though a Bourbon secured the Spanish crown, the peace of Utrecht in 1713 put an end to the schemes of Louis the Fourteenth for constituting France the heir of Spain. In the West Indies the peace transferred wholly to Great Britain the

¹ See below, p. 148.

² Burke, *European Settlements in America* [Pt. . chap. 2].

³ In 1698, the year after the peace of Ryswick, an attempt was made by a private company to establish a Scotch colony on the Isthmus of Darien; but the scheme, though strongly backed in Scotland, was discountenanced by William the Third, and came to nothing, some of the survivors migrating to Jamaica in the following year. See below, pp. 101-2.

island of St. Kitts, where French and English had started side by side, and it gave to an English company for thirty years the *Assiento* contract for supplying slaves to Spanish America. In course of time the working of the contract led to differences between the company and the Spanish king, and, coupled with the injury to trade done by the Spanish claim to right of search, brought on war again in 1739. Porto Bello was taken in that year by Admiral Vernon, and, after some years of desultory fighting, the European powers patched up matters once more in the peace of Aix la Chapelle in 1748. The basis of that peace was mutual restitution of conquests, and the four islands of St. Vincent, Dominica, Tobago, and St. Lucia were declared to be neutral and to belong to the Caribs.

But the world was not large enough to hold Great Britain and France as friends and equals, and the time of great English leaders had now come, the age of Pitt and Clive and Wolfe. War broke out again; Guadeloupe, Martinique, and nearly every French island in the West Indies were taken by British forces; and the great Spanish town of Havana was bombarded and occupied. The strife closed with the peace of Paris in 1763, which, in addition to Canada, gave to Great Britain Grenada and the Grenadines, and three out of the four neutral islands, St. Vincent, Dominica, and Tobago, leaving the fourth, St. Lucia, to France; and the same peace secured the logcutters on the coast of Honduras against Spanish interference with their trade.

Left by the treaty the leading power of the world, Great Britain soon found in her own children stronger and more determined opponents than any foreign nation. The revolt of the North American colonies shook her whole foreign and colonial empire. French and Spaniards took heart again in the West Indies; by April, 1782, Jamaica, Barbados, and Antigua alone remained of all the former British possessions in these seas; and, but for the memorable sea-fight in that same month off Dominica, in which Rodney broke up the French fleet, the whole of the British West Indian colonies

would probably have been lost. As it was, the peace of Versailles in 1783 deprived Great Britain only of the island of Tobago, while the parallel treaty with Spain confirmed her possession of the Bahamas, and defined the limits within which the squatters of Belize would be left undisturbed.

The curtain now rose on the last and greatest scene in the fighting age, for the year 1789 saw the beginning of the French Revolution. Great as France had been under the Bourbons, her people and her government had not been at one, and her leaders abroad had been indifferently backed by her rulers at home. She now pressed forward with all the restless strength and energy of a new youth; her armies were national armies, their conquests were made for France not for a French court, and they were made in the name of principles which were wide as the world itself. The great movement had a twofold effect on the West Indies: in the first place it finally marked out the ownership of the different islands, as they are held with few exceptions at the present day; and in the second place it practically doomed the slave system. The notes of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity were rung into the ears of blacks as well as whites; and, though the details of emancipation were actually worked out in later peaceful times, the modern spirit of humanity and freedom, which gradually made slavery an anachronism, took form and shape once for all in the French Revolution. The French themselves were the first to suffer from its effects, for their noble colony of St. Domingo became amid outrage and excess the Black Republic of Hayti, whose history has made men doubt whether slavery is all a curse and liberty all a blessing.

Of all the European powers which had an interest in the West Indies, Great Britain alone was a gainer by the wars which followed on the French Revolution. France lost, and Spain and the Netherlands lost through being at one time or another the forced allies of France. The Spanish fleet was shattered off Cape St. Vincent in 1797: the Dutch fleet was

broken at Camperdown in the same year, and surrendered at the Texel in 1799; and the battle of Trafalgar was the last in a series of naval engagements which left the French powerless at sea. The peace of Amiens in 1802 annexed to the British Crown the Spanish island of Trinidad; and in 1814 the treaties of Paris and London, with France and the Netherlands respectively, gave to great Britain the French islands of Tobago and St. Lucia, and the three Dutch provinces on the mainland of South America which constitute the present colony of British Guiana. From that day to this there has been no addition to nor subtraction from the British possessions in the West Indies.

To the British empire as a whole the nineteenth century brought prosperity and progress. The West Indian colonies have been to some extent an exception. It has been seen that war was not always a disadvantage to them, bringing, as it did, to many of the islands the profits of privateering and contraband trade; and, on the other hand, the return of settled peace brought to light the weak points in their social and economic system. They were dependent on a single industry, and that industry was carried on by slave labour.

It is a question whether the sugar-cane¹ is indigenous to the West Indies, or whether it was brought there from Europe; at any rate it was grown in Hispaniola immediately after the Spanish discovery of the island. In the earliest days of English and French colonization sugar hardly found a place in the list of products, and it was not till about 1640 that it began to take the place of all the rest. In that year a Dutchman is said to have introduced into Barbados² from Brazil the art of making sugar, and thenceforward the British West Indies, headed by Barbados, became more and more exclusively sugar colonies.

¹ The sugar-cane was brought into Spain from the East by the Moors, was taken on to Madeira, the Canaries, and other islands off Africa, and is said by some writers to have been further carried by the Spaniards and Portuguese to the New World.

² See below, p. 181.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the industry is stated by some authorities¹ to have been more hampered by government in the British than in the French colonies, but it is certain that, as years went on, the restrictions both on the exportation of the produce and on the importation of the labourers were gradually relaxed, and the revolution in St. Domingo, ruining as it did the island of which the produce was 'said to be greater than that of all the English sugar colonies put together', must have increased the trade of the British possessions. That it did so seems to be proved by the fact that the manufacture of beet-root sugar in any quantity dates from Napoleon's blockade of the continent against British commerce, showing that, when British sugar was excluded from continental countries, the effect on prices was such as to make it necessary to find some home-grown substitute. It was not war so much as peace and the fruits of peace that injured the sugar industry. The changes in the labour market of the British West Indies, caused by the great measure of slave emancipation, struck at the root of the whole plantation system, and by 1854 the policy of free trade, carried beyond the point which served West Indian interests, abolished all protective duties in favour of sugar grown by

¹ In the *Universal History*, already quoted, it is stated that the English sugar producers in Barbados, in the earlier part of the eighteenth century, were at a disadvantage compared with the French and Dutch owing to the heavy duties which they had to pay, and that the French undersold the English on the continent, in Ireland, and North Britain. Burke, in his *Account of the European Settlements in America*, has a chapter on the disadvantages under which the English islands were placed at that date as compared with the French, among them being the great cost of the civil establishments and the throwing the burden of them on the colonies instead of the mother-country, the heavy poll-tax on negroes, the duty of four-and-a-half per cent. on sugar, the restrictions on foreign trade, and the prohibition of direct trade with Ireland. This last prohibition was removed in 1780. Adam Smith, on the other hand, writing in 1776 (*Wealth of Nations*, chapter on 'The Causes of the Prosperity of New Colonies'), says that, as compared with other nations, 'the policy of Great Britain with regard to the trade of her colonies... has, upon the whole, been less illiberal and oppressive than that of any of them'; he shows that the most oppressive taxation was on manufactured as opposed to raw produce, crippling e.g. the sugar-refining industry in the British colonies.

² Adam Smith, chapter on 'The Causes of the Prosperity of New Colonies.'

British subjects, and placed foreign and colonial sugars on the same level in the home market.

Of late the bounty system, which has been adopted by foreign governments, has further injured the West Indian colonies; and depression is hardly to be wondered at in islands, which within a short space of time have passed from the phase of protective duties in their own favour, to that of free and open competition with the rest of the world, and again to a phase in which they are actually handicapped as against foreign countries.

Though negro slavery in the West Indies, in its vast extent, was the result of sugar-planting, negroes were first introduced into the islands not to grow sugar but to work in the mines of Hispaniola. The first African slaves were not imported direct from Africa, but from Spain and Portugal, into which countries the Portuguese merchants had brought them from the West African coast. Negroes are mentioned as being in Hispaniola as early as 1503¹, and in 1511 King Ferdinand gave authority for their introduction into the island in larger numbers. Mistaken philanthropy at first combined with interest to bring them to the West Indies, for it is a well-known story how Las Casas suggested to the Spanish government the systematic importation of Africans into the colonies, in order to check the wholesale extermination of the weaker natives of America. In 1517 the first slave monopoly was given to a Flemish courtier of Charles the Fifth, from whom it passed to Genoese merchants, and from them to Portuguese. The Portuguese, with their command of the African coast, were the main slave-traders of the sixteenth century, and Lisbon was the great slave mart with an annual sale, about 1539, of from 10,000 to 12,000 slaves. Towards the end of the century, however, the Dutch took up the trade, supplying, it is said, the

¹ For the early introduction of negroes into America see Helps's *Spanish Conquest in America*, and Washington Irving's *Columbus*. The whole subject of the slave trade is admirably treated in Bandinel's *Account of the trade in slaves from Africa as connected with Europe and America* (1842).

first cargo of slaves to Virginia about 1620, and importing some subsequently into Barbados¹.

The beginning of sugar-planting in Barbados was the beginning also of the introduction of negroes in any numbers into the British West Indies. The different European nations took to supplying their own settlements; and, in 1662, an English African Company, the third of its name, was incorporated by Charles the Second, with his brother the Duke of York at its head, on the express condition of importing into the West Indian islands 3,000 slaves annually. In 1672 a fourth African Company was incorporated, the King and his brother being among the subscribers. In 1688 the African slave trade was thrown open to all British subjects; and at the end of the century above 25,000 negroes were annually imported in British ships into the British Colonies.

So far British slave-traders had in the main been engaged in supplying British colonies only, but in 1713, by the peace of Utrecht, the English supplanted the French as carriers for the Spaniards, and obtained the famous *Assiento* or contract to supply Spanish America with slaves. Under this contract the African Company were bound to supply 144,000 slaves in thirty years, and it is stated that the total English importation from Africa to America during the twenty years following the treaty was at the rate of some 15,000 per annum.

It is satisfactory to read that this slave monopoly did not pay. In 1739 the King of Spain preferred a claim against the Company for £68,000, which led to war and to an interruption of the contract; and though, by the peace of Aix la Chapelle in 1748, the agreement was renewed for four years, in 1750 it was finally annulled on payment of £100,000 in compensation by the Spanish government.

¹ *The Universal History* (p. 144) states, 'The Dutch had been indeed greatly instrumental in raising Barbados to what it was, and had not only furnished it with the means of making sugar, but with utensils of all kinds and with negroes from Africa, a trade which was at that time 'about 1660' little known to the English.'

During the latter part of the eighteenth century the total export of slaves from Africa to America is estimated to have been at the rate of some 100,000 per annum, the majority of whom were carried in British ships; but by this time the conscience of Europe had begun to be aroused to the iniquity of the trade. Quakers and Wesleyans protested against it; writers like Montesquieu, Robertson, and Paley denounced it; English judges, appealed to by Granville Sharp, ruled that any slave setting foot in England became free; Clarkson, Wilberforce, and their friends formed a committee with the object of abolishing the traffic; the 'Amis des Noirs' followed suit in France, including Lafayette among their members; in 1776 the first motion against the trade was made in the English parliament; and soon leading statesmen of all parties, including Fox, Burke, and Pitt, declared themselves in favour of its abolition. In 1792 the Danish king took the lead in the cause of humanity by absolutely prohibiting his subjects from buying, selling, and transporting slaves; and at last, in 1807, the moral sense of the British public overrode the vested interests of merchants and planters; parliament, at Lord Grenville's instance, passed the famous act for the Abolition of the Slave trade; and thenceforward successive British governments set themselves steadily by treaty and convention to bring other nations to follow their example¹.

The abolition of slavery, as Fox had said, was the natural consequence of the extinction of the slave trade; and in 1833 the Act for the Abolition of Slavery throughout the British colonies was passed². The law was to take effect from the

¹ In 1794 the United States prohibited their subjects from slave-trading to foreign countries, and in 1807 they prohibited the importation of slaves into their own.

² The Act, however, did not apply to the East Indies and St. Helena, which were dealt with separately. In the new Charter Act for the East India Company, also passed in 1833, a provision was inserted for the gradual extinction of slavery in the territories under their jurisdiction. In Ceylon emancipation was begun in 1816, but not finally completed till 1845; and in St. Helena it was begun in 1818, and completed in 1832.

first of August, 1834, but the slaves were to be apprenticed to their former owners till 1838 and in the case of agricultural slaves till 1840, and £20,000,000 sterling were voted as compensation to the slave-holders at the Cape, in Mauritius, and in the West Indies. As a matter of fact, however, two colonies, Antigua and the Bermudas, had the good sense to dispense with the apprenticeship system altogether, and in no case was it prolonged beyond 1838.

The number of colonies held by Great Britain in the West Indies and the circumstances of each colony varied so much at different times that, in spite of many statistics, it is difficult to form an accurate estimate of the number of slaves at stated periods of West Indian history. The population of Barbados in 1670, at the time of its greatest prosperity, was in some accounts estimated to consist of 50,000 whites and over 100,000 black and coloured inhabitants: on the other hand only six years later the governor reported the population at no more than nearly 22,000 whites and rather over 32,000 negroes¹. A century later, in 1773, the returns given for the island were over 18,000 whites, and over 68,000 slaves; and in 1834, the year in which the Abolition Act took effect, the colony contained nearly 13,000 whites and nearly 83,000 slaves.

In Jamaica in 1658, three years after it had been taken by the English, according to rough calculations there were said to be 1,500 slaves to 4,500 whites. In forty years' time, by 1698, the number of slaves had risen to 40,000, while the whites hardly exceeded 7,000. In 1800 there were 300,000 slaves to 30,000 whites, and in 1834 the slaves numbered 310,000.

When Burke wrote, there were, according to his account², in the British West Indies at least 230,000 slaves against at the most 90,000 whites. In 1788 it is stated that there were

¹ It is impossible that the calculation of 1670 and that of 1676 can both be accurate, and Burke complicates the matter by crediting the figures of 1670 to 1676. The returns quoted in the chapter on Barbados differ slightly in some cases from those given here.

² Part VI. chap. x. Bandinel quotes Burke's numbers as 240,000.

450,000 negroes¹ in the British sugar colonies. At the last registration prior to emancipation, after British Guiana and Trinidad had become British possessions, the number of slaves was given at some 674,000². Whatever figures be taken, it is abundantly clear that as soon as the system of slavery had become rooted in the West Indies, in nearly every colony at nearly every period the black slaves largely outnumbered the free white inhabitants, and, the longer the system lasted, the greater became the difference in numbers between these two sections of the colonial communities. Burke writes that the 'disproportion between the freemen and negroes grows more visible every day.' The number of Africans imported at the end of the eighteenth century was very much larger than it had been a century before; on the other hand the system of transportation of white bondsmen and labourers under contract was gradually discontinued; and in the later days of West Indian colonization the free emigration³ of white men to the English islands, was from social and political causes, much less than it had once been. The laws which obliged the planters to employ a certain number of white servants in proportion to their negroes had, in Burke's time, become in most places a dead letter, and the universal spread of the sugar industry tended to large plantations owned by single families and cultivated by gangs of slaves. Where slavery exists on any scale, there is no room for the small freeholder; and climate, products, and custom alike perpetuated and extended the system under which few owned and many were owned.

It is somewhat useless to consider where and by what

¹ From Bandinel, who quotes from the Privy Council report.

² These and most of the other figures given are taken from Martin's *British Colonies*.

³ Burke attributed the decrease in emigration to the decay of enterprise: 'That enterprising spirit which the novelty of the object and various concurrent causes had produced in the last century, has decayed very much. We have as many men indigent and unemployed at home as we had then: but they have not the same spirit and activity they had at that time.' [Part VI. chap. x.]

nationality the slaves were best treated. In some islands there were more traces of humanity in law and practice than in others, but as a general rule all slave-owners stood on much the same level. The English can hardly claim to have been better than their neighbours; it was not only French writers, such as Labat, who attributed greater cruelty to the English than to the French slave-owners, but Burke¹ states roundly that 'the negroes in our colonies endure a slavery more complete and attended with far worse circumstances than what any people in their condition suffer in any other part of the world or have suffered in any other period of time'; and Adam Smith in writing² that 'in the good management of their slaves the French planters, I think it is generally allowed, are superior to the English,' points out that had the English government been more arbitrary, the slaves would probably have fared better. The British West Indies enjoyed representative institutions, but the colonial assemblies consisted of slave-owners, and their laws were enacted and administered by slave-owners; consequently the slaves lived under an exclusive oligarchy bred and born in local prejudices. Again and again the history of colonization has shown that the safeguard of coloured races consists in a strong home government outside and beyond local influences, and that home rule for a dependency, where the white men are few and the coloured many, has in past times meant for the majority of its inhabitants not so much the gift of local freedom as the withdrawal of Imperial protection.

The great mass of literature on the subject of slavery naturally and rightly deals in the main with the position and sufferings of the slaves. From the point of view of colonization, however, it is still more important to consider the system as affecting the slave owners. Leaving the moral side of slavery out of sight, it is conceivably arguable that under certain extraordinary circumstances it may be good for a man to be a slave, but it is not

¹ Part VI. chap. xi.

² Chapter on 'The Causes of the Prosperity of New Colonies.'

conceivable that under any circumstances it can be good for a man to be a slave-holder; and, in reviewing British colonization in the West Indies, it is not an unfair statement of the case to say that here British colonists were, by coming to a hot climate in a half-civilized age, with a special industry presenting itself to them, and with another continent, so to speak, offering a plentiful labour supply, doomed to become slave-holders. What was the result? In the first place, while the mainspring of British colonization has been that English men and women have done so much for themselves, the essence of slavery is that men and women have everything done for them; consequently the surroundings of the colonists were directly opposed to the true spirit and methods of colonization. In the second place, the British colonists became few among many, hence came insecurity, insecurity bred fear, and fear bred cruelty. It is true that from time to time negroes were enlisted and entrusted with arms¹; but, as a general rule, the danger of negro conspiracies, of the slaves taking advantage of foreign wars and allying themselves with the Irish and other disaffected elements in the colonies, was constantly present; the history of the Maroons in Jamaica showed what formidable enemies revolted Africans might become, and the revolution in St. Domingo proved that they only wanted a leader like Toussaint l'Ouverture to work out liberty and salvation with a terrible thoroughness. This perpetual fear of the slaves accounts for the severity of the slave laws, the slowness with which they were modified, and the cruelty which in some cases held out to the last. Each generation showed a greater disproportion of whites to blacks, each generation was more enervated by a longer inheritance of slave-owning, and the coming of emancipation, forced on as it was from without, produced in the mass of slave-owners a spirit of desperation. They were to suffer for their fathers' sins as well as their own, they feared for their personal safety, they apprehended financial ruin, and they had the further sense of

¹ e. g. in the case of the Bermudas, see above, p. 22.

feeling that their rights as self-governing, if misgoverning, colonists were arbitrarily overridden by the power of the mother-country. In the third place, if slavery stunted the growth of colonization and caused the existing colonists to deteriorate, it also stereotyped and contracted the industry of the colonies where it was in force. The introduction of sugar-planting, as has been said, led if not to the introduction at any rate to the enormous development of slavery. Conversely, the spread of slavery tied the islands down more and more to the one product. Burke points out how parts of Jamaica might be made available for other industries than sugar, cultivated by other hands than slaves; in the older days of the West Indies various kinds of products were raised in the islands; and at the present time sugar is beginning again to be supplemented by cocoa¹, coffee, fruit and provision growing, and other sources of agricultural wealth. But the evil of a system lives after it, and the West Indies still suffer from the want of versatility in production, which was intensified if not produced by slave labour. A tropical climate has much to account for, and geography fashions history. Heat proved too much, but only just too much, for British colonization, Africa was rather too near to America, and sugar was too remunerative and grew too well. So though the English settled in the West Indies and came there not merely as conquerors or traders, they brought in another race to outnumber themselves and a system to run counter to their own colonization.

With the emancipation of the slaves in the West Indies began the system of importing free coloured labour for the plantations. 'The natural indisposition of the emancipated negroes to work except in an uncertain and desultory manner, and their aversion to any system of long contracts, compelled the planters to look abroad for a supply of that steady and continuous labour, which they could no longer command at home, and which they found to be indispensable for the

¹ In Blome's *Jamaica* (1672) cocoa is spoken of as 'the principal and most beneficial commodity of the isle.'

successful management of sugar establishments. 'The principal quarters to which they at first directed their attention were Africa, China, and the East Indies'.¹ The statistics given for the forty-one years, 1835-1875, show that during that period the number of Indians, Chinese, and Africans landed in the West Indies was 222,000. Of this total the free or liberated Africans numbered nearly 33,000, the Chinese nearly 17,000, and the large balance of 172,000 represents the East Indian coolies. For the years 1876-1903 inclusive, the number of Indian labourers introduced into the West Indies has been 189,841, of whom only 66,071 returned to India². A few coolies came to British Guiana in 1838, but in that year immigration from India to the West Indies was prohibited by the Indian government, and was not resumed till 1844. Since that date the system of importing coolies under indentures to serve on the plantations, usually for five years—a system which has been subsidized, limited, and carefully safeguarded by the Colonial governments—has been sanctioned in the case of British Guiana, Trinidad, Jamaica, St. Kitts, Nevis, St. Lucia, Grenada, and St. Vincent. Of these the two first-named colonies, late acquisitions of Great Britain, have absorbed far more than her older West Indian dependencies, and, at the present day, the Indian element constitutes³ some 41 per cent. of the population of British Guiana, and (according to the 1901 census) 34 per cent. of that of Trinidad. Thus a new form of imported labour has leavened the population of the West Indies, and Europeans have brought Asiatics as well as Africans into the New World.

¹ From the last Colonization Circular issued by H. M. Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners, dated 1877. The figures given are taken from the same report, which should be consulted for a full account of the system of coolie immigration. The words quoted above may be questioned, as not doing justice to the emancipated negro.

² The total amount of money exclusive of jewellery brought back to India by returned coolies from British Guiana alone has, since the beginning of coolie immigration, been no less than £651,000.

³ The proportion is far larger in Mauritius. See vol. i of this work, pp. 165-6.

The years which have passed since the first edition of this book was published have been eventful in the West Indies.

The inland boundaries of British Guiana have been defined by two arbitrations. The earlier award, given in 1899, decided the boundary between the colony and Venezuela, and put an end to an international dispute of many years' standing, which in its later phases had become dangerous. The more recent award given in 1904, the King of Italy being the arbitrator, adjusted the boundary with Brazil.

The islands have suffered much alike from natural and from artificial causes. In September, 1898, a disastrous hurricane laid waste St. Vincent and Barbados. In either island a considerable number of lives were lost and the damage to property was great. In St. Vincent, which suffered more severely, about half the population were rendered shelterless by the storm and nearly three-fourths were in receipt of rations. The whole island after the catastrophe presented to eye-witnesses a picture of utter desolation, as by fire. In the following August and September, 1899, the Leeward Islands were visited in a similar manner. Montserrat was swept bare, and its buildings, public and private, wrecked and gutted, while in Nevis much loss and misery was caused. In 1903 it was the turn of Jamaica to be the scene of a hurricane, though the devastation in this last case was not so complete as in that of the small islands, the western half of the island entirely escaping the storm which swept through the fruit-bearing districts in the east.

As though St. Vincent's cup of suffering had not been filled by the hurricane of 1898, the island was visited by a still more terrible calamity in May, 1902, when an eruption of the volcanic mountain of the Soufrière covered with ashes the northern half of the island and blotted out some 2,000 lives. The eruption was part of a widespread volcanic disturbance, which at the same time in Martinique, through the terrible agency of the burning lava of Mont Pélée, utterly destroyed

the flourishing town of St. Pierre with all that was therein. For a parallel to the eruption in St. Vincent it is necessary to go back to the year 1812, while a parallel to the hurricane of 1898 cannot be found later than 1831. It should be added that public and private funds were given with extraordinary liberality to meet the exigencies of both cases.

Trinidad, which for many years has been the most steadily and solidly prosperous part of the British West Indies, has not suffered at the hand of nature, but it has suffered at the hand of man. A disastrous riot took place at Port of Spain in March, 1903, with loss of life and destruction by fire of the government buildings. It was a wanton and senseless riot, with no adequate cause beyond a mischievous press and an excitable population.

A new era in the industrial and economic history of the British West Indian colonies may be dated from the report of the West India Royal Commission appointed, upon Mr. Chamberlain's recommendation, to inquire into the facts and causes of the alleged depression in the sugar industry, and the general condition and prospects of that industry, and of the sugar-growing colonies. The Commissioners, who reported in 1897, regarded the sugar industry of the British West Indies as threatened with extinction. They pointed out the very serious consequences that must ensue if the industry were further reduced or wholly extinguished, and not adequately replaced by other industries. They noted in connexion with the depression of the sugar interest the evil effects of the bounty system, and referred to the abolition of that system as an object at which the government should aim, though they did not agree as to the steps to be taken to ensure the end. They recommended that other industries should be encouraged in order to supplement or take the place of sugar. They urged the advisability of improving steam communication between the islands and with the markets for West Indian produce, and they recommended various grants or loans from the

Imperial exchequer to make good accumulated or annual deficits in the Island Treasuries, and for certain other specified objects.

The Bounty system had been considered by practically all who were either actively engaged or financially interested in the sugar industry of the West Indies to be—to a greater extent than the Royal Commissioners held—the most potent cause of the depression of that industry, at once in lowering prices and in destroying credit; and on March 5, 1902, a Convention, to which Great Britain and the leading powers on the continent with the exception of Russia were parties, was signed at Brussels abolishing, or at any rate greatly restricting, bounties on sugar for five years as from September 1, 1903. It is as yet too soon to estimate the full results of the Convention to the sugar-growing colonies of Great Britain, but it has already had the effect of, to some extent, restoring the shattered credit of the cane-sugar industry.

Between the date when the Convention was signed and that on which it came into effect there was an interval of nearly one and a half years, during which the beet-sugar producers could and did make the most of the Bounties so freely given to them by continental governments. To support the British cane-sugar industry during this time and to enable estates to be kept in cultivation, a sum of a quarter of a million sterling was voted by the House of Commons, and placed at the disposal of the Secretary of State for the Colonies for distribution among the colonies concerned.

In order to develop new products as well as to introduce new varieties of cane, and increase the production of cane-sugar, the Royal Commission recommended the establishment of an Imperial Department of Agriculture for the West Indies. The recommendation was carried into effect, and, under the able superintendence of Sir D. Morris, at one time Assistant Director of the Royal Gardens at Kew, the department, the head-quarters of which are at Barbados, has achieved much success, giving a needed stimulus alike to old and to new

industries, and facilitating scientific and agricultural education in the schools.

The West Indies in old days produced large quantities of cotton, and the recent shortage of the cotton supply from the United States to Lancashire has brought into prominence the question of growing this staple product within the British Empire. With the help of the British Cotton-growing Association cotton, especially of the valuable Sea Island kind, is being raised and ginned in various West Indian islands, and bids fair to take its place again as one of the main products of the West Indies.

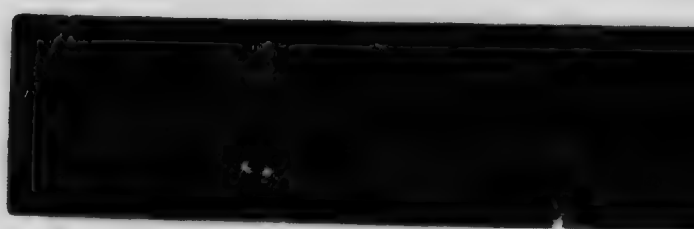
Cocoa has long flourished in Trinidad and Grenada; and Dominica, which of late years has made marked and steady progress with the aid of a small Imperial grant for roads, is now added to the list of islands in which it is a leading article of export. The West Indian fruit trade too has received a new impetus through the establishment of the Imperial Direct Line of steamers plying between Bristol and Jamaica, and subsidized jointly by the Imperial and Jamaica governments.

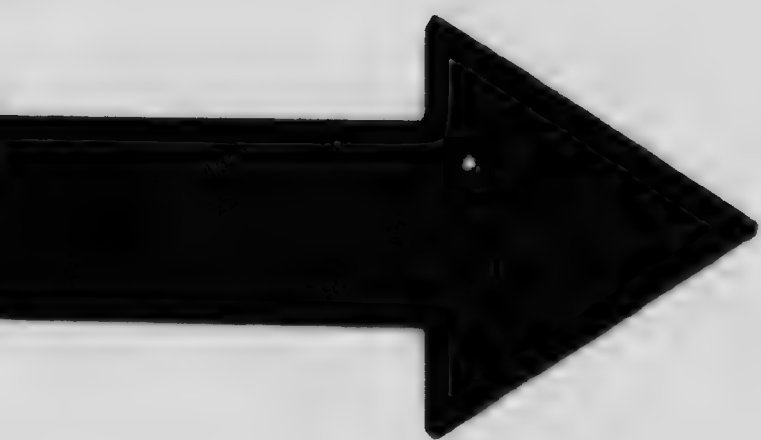
A notable feature in the West Indian trade of the present day is the increasing amount of commodities exported to and received from Canada. These two parts of the British Empire, in the same hemisphere though in different latitudes, supplement each other in climate and in products, and the growing connexion between them is of present mutual advantage and gives bright promise for the future.

BOOKS RELATING TO THE WEST INDIES.

Some of the old authorities are quoted in the notes, and a useful notice of them will be found in the introductory chapter to BRIDGES' *Annals of Jamaica*.

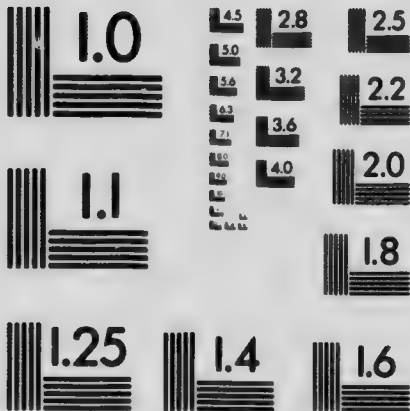
An account of the European Settlements in America published anonymously in 1757, has usually been attributed to EDMUND BURKE, and, though Burke disowned its authorship, he acknowledged having revised it, and probably contributed largely to it. It is therefore referred to as his





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work in the text of this book. [See the article on Edmund Burke in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.]

The most useful book for purposes of reference is SOUTHEY's excellent *Chronological History of the West Indies* (1827).

BRYAN EDWARDS's *History of the British Colonies in the West Indies* (4th ed., 1807) is a well-known standard work.

MARTIN's *British Colonies* (1st ed., 1834) contains a very full account of the West Indian colonies.

Of recent books, Mr. FROUDE's *English in the West Indies* takes, of course, the first place.

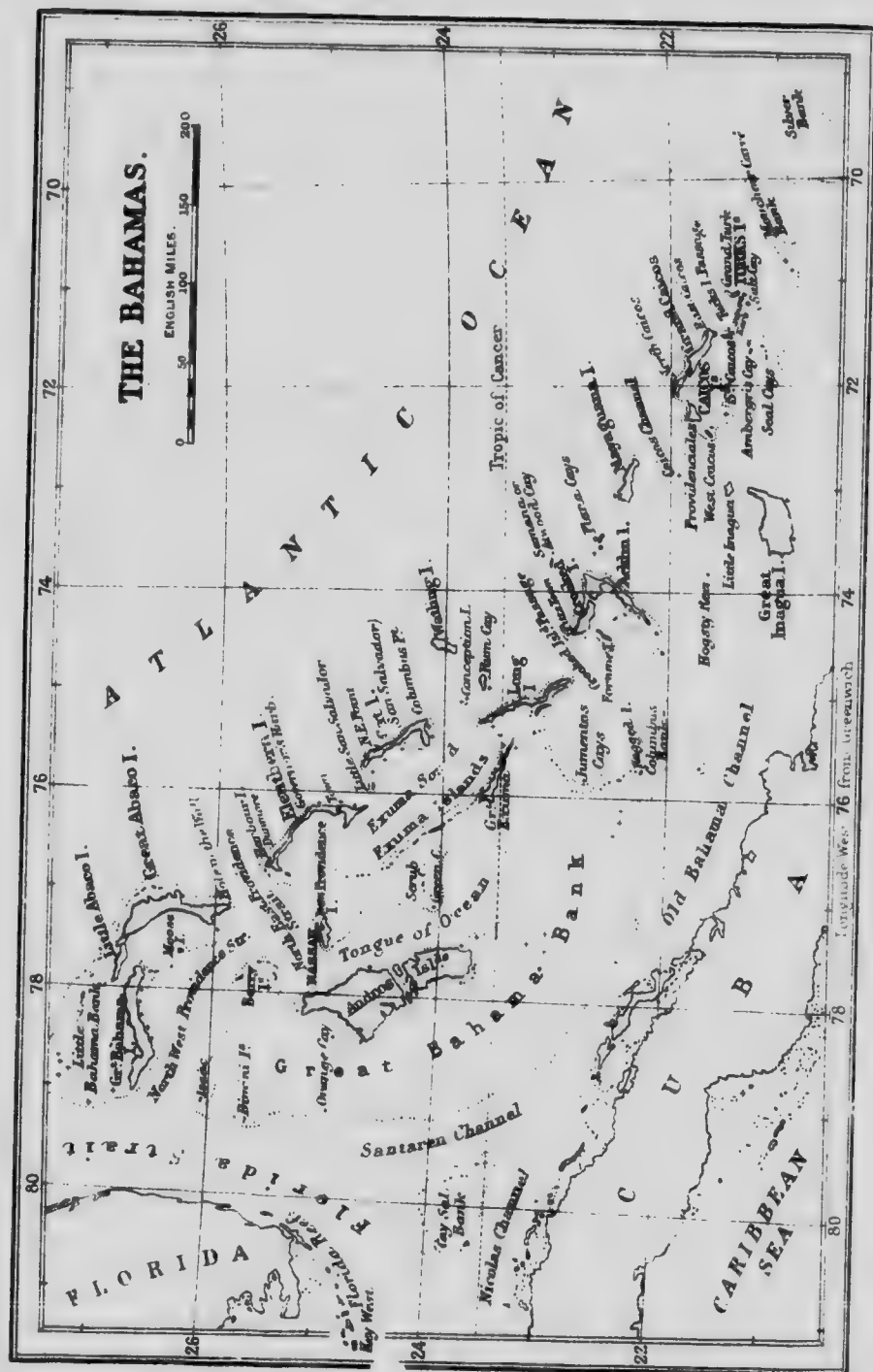
Down the Islands: A Voyage to the Caribbees, by W. A. PATON (1888); *The West Indies*, by C. W. EVES (1886); *The Lesser Antilles*, by OWEN T. BULKELEY; *The West Indies and the Empire*, by H. DE R. WALKER (1901), may be worth consulting; also the valuable *Report on the Economic Resources of the West Indies*, by Sir D. MORRIS, K.C.M.G., Royal Gardens, Kew (1898).

Lastly, the invaluable *Calendar of State Papers* at present covers, as far as America and the West Indies are concerned, the years 1574-1697, in ten volumes, edited by Mr. SAINSBURY, and the Hon. J. W. FORTESCUE.

See also the books mentioned under the different colonies.

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CHAPTER II

THE BAHAMAS

THE Bahamas are the most northerly of the British West Indian colonies. They are a long line of coral islands, or groups of coral islands, stretching away to the south-east from the coast of Florida, running nearly parallel to Cuba, outside and to the north of the main semicircle of West Indian islands. The Caicos and Turks Islands are a continuation of the same chain to the south-east, but, though once attached to the Bahamas, they are now separated from them, and are a dependency of Jamaica.

From their geographical position the Bahamas would naturally be, as they have actually been, only indirectly concerned with the main course of West Indian history—disjointed outposts of the archipelago, hardly inviting continuous settlement. It has been seen¹ that one of the islands was the first point in America reached by Columbus. Guanahani was its native name, but it was rechristened by him San Salvador, in gratitude for his deliverance from the sea.

The whole group was known as the Lucayos², and was inhabited by a gentle superstitious race, who were deported

¹ See above, p. 36. Washington Irving, in Appendix 17 to his *Columbus*, defends the claims of the island now known as San Salvador or Cat Island to have been the real point of first landing against the counter-claims of Turks Island. The theory now more usually accepted is that Watling's Island was the spot in question. *The Universal History* confounds Guanahani and San Salvador with Providence.

² It is suggested in Martin's *British Colonies* [chapter on the Bahamas, note] that the name Lucayos is the origin of the Spanish word Cayos, or Keys, the term applied to small islets especially in the Bahamas: but in a marginal note to *An Excellent Ruttyer for the Islands of the West Indies* [Hakluyt], referring to the Cayo de Moa off the east of Cuba, it is stated 'this word Cayo in the Biskayne tongue signifieth a flat or a shoald.'

wholesale by the Spaniards, to be worked to death in the mines of Hispaniola, or in the pearl fisheries off the Spanish main¹. In 1512 the archipelago was visited by Ponce de Leon, the discoverer of Florida, in his search for the island of Bimini² and the fabled fountain of perpetual youth; but no Spanish settlement was made in the Bahamas; they were visited only and left desolate.

Some notice of them occurs in connexion with early English voyages to the West Indies, John Hawkins, for instance, on his return from slave-trading in 1562-3 'passing out by the islands of the Caycos³'; and, situated as they are towards the Greater Antilles, they must have been well known to the traders of the sixteenth century, who found their way into West Indian seas.

The year 1629 has usually been taken as the date of the first English settlement in the group, on the island which Columbus had called Fernandina, after King Ferdinand, but which is now known as New Providence. It is now, however, proved that the chroniclers confused two islands, each bearing the name of Providence, and that the settlement in question was not in the Bahamas but in the island of Providence off the Mosquito coast of Central America⁴.

¹ Early in the sixteenth century some 40,000 natives of the Bahamas were transported to Hispaniola in five years. The Spaniards worked on their superstition by persuading them that they would be taken to Happy Islands, where they would meet their dead again (*Helps' Spanish Conquest in America*).

² Two little islands in the Bahamas bear this name at the present day.

³ From Hakluyt's collection. It is stated in some accounts that Sir Humphrey Gilbert annexed the Bahamas about 1578, but the authority for the statement cannot be traced by the present writer.

⁴ On the fourth of December, 1630, King Charles the First issued a patent to the Earl of Warwick, Lord Saye and Sele, John Pym, Oliver St. John, and others, incorporating them as the Governor and Company of Adventurers for the plantation of the islands of Providence, Henrietta, and the adjacent islands between 10 and 20 degrees of North latitude and 290 and 310 degrees of longitude. This patent was wrongly supposed to have referred to the Bahamas, and is so taken in the *Calendar of State Papers*, Colonial Series, 1574-1696. The confusion, however, was subsequently cleared up by Mr. Sainsbury, the editor of the *Calendar*, and is fully explained in the *Athenæum* of the twenty-seventh of May, 1876.

In 1666 settlers from the Bermudas, finding that colony overpeopled, went to New Providence, and in about two years' time amounted to some 250 in number. They applied to the Governor of Jamaica for recognition of their settlement as a British dependency, and appear to have obtained a commission for their elected governor, John Wentworth. They found the island apparently very healthy, with 'gallant harbours,' producing 'as good cotton as is ever grown in America and gallant tobacco!'

Meanwhile, as has been already noticed², Eleuthera or Eleuthera, another island in the group, had also been colonized from the Bermudas about 1646. The founder of the colony was Captain William Sayle, and, some twenty years afterwards, he was selected by the proprietors of Carolina to be the first governor of a new settlement, which they contemplated forming in the southern part of their territory.

In 1667³, on his way to Carolina, Sayle is said to have been driven by stress of weather to land on the island of New

The colonization of Providence on the Mosquito coast by this Company lasted till 1641, when the Spaniards expelled the English; the latter, however, reoccupied the island for a short time in 1666, and again in 1671. See below, pp. 298, 301.

¹ The authority for the above is the abstract of two letters given in the *Calendar of State Papers*; one is from the Bermudas to Lord Ashley, dated the seventeenth of February, 1670, the writers of which state that some of the Bermudians had gone 'three or four years since to one of the Bahamas, which they first named Sayle's Island but they now call New Providence,' and they urge the issue of a patent for all the Bahamas; the other is dated the twenty-third of August, 1672, and is from the governor of New Providence to the governor of Jamaica, covering a petition which recites the circumstances of their settlement and recognition by the Jamaica government. In the *Memorials of the Bermudas*, vol. ii. p. 265, a letter is given, written from the Bermudas in 1668, which states 'there is an island among the Bahamas, which some of our people are settled upon and more are going thither. 'Tis called New Providence.'

² See above, p. 15.

³ See Doyle's *History of the English in America*, vol. i. chapter 12. In the *Memorials of the Bermudas*, vol. ii. p. 255, note, it is pointed out that there is a confusion about the date, as Sayle left the Bermudas for Carolina in January, 1670. It is almost impossible to trace the exact sequence of events.

Providence, calling it by that name to distinguish it from the then better known island of Providence off the Mosquito coast.

So favourable was his report that six of the Carolina proprietors, among whom were the Duke of Albemarle and Lord Ashley afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury, turned their attention to colonizing it. Their grant from Charles the Second, dated the first of November, 1670, included 'all those islands called Bahama, Eleutheria, Ucanis (?), Providence, Inagua, and all other those islands lying in the degrees of 22 to 27 North Latitude, commonly known by the name of the Bahama Islands, or the Islands of the Lucayos¹'; and their attempt at colonization is styled the first legal settlement of the Bahamas, which had long been 'a shelter for pirates and a disorderly set of people².' In 1671 a governor's commission was sent out, and the Governor and Council were directed to take steps for forming a Parliament, twenty members of which were to be elected.

It would seem, however, that these instructions never reached the colony, for in 1672³ the settlers complained to the governor of Jamaica that they had waited in vain for two years for instructions from the Lords Proprietors of Carolina. In any case, the Bahamas appear to have been left very much to themselves, there was practically little or no government, and little systematic settlement. The residents of New Providence continued to deserve the title of disorderly people; if they did not like their governors, they shipped them off; and if a pirate like Avery visited their island, he had to be dealt with as a friend. In 1680 or 1682 the Spaniards attacked and laid waste the settlement; and in 1703 French and Spaniards combined drove out the English inhabitants, destroyed the fort, and annihilated the colony.

¹ Sir R. Rawson, in his report on the Bahamas for 1864, states that the proprietary rights were reconveyed to the Crown in 1787, each of the heirs of the original proprietors receiving £2,000 in compensation.

² From the *Universal History*, p. 331.

³ See note 1, on the preceding page.

THE BAHAMAS

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New Providence was now for a few years simply a headquarters for pirates, the most notable of whom was one Edward Teach, 'a Bristol man born,' a ruffian, who under the name of 'Black Beard' became a kind of West Indian ogre. The Bahamas, however, were too well placed and the world was becoming too civilized for such a state of things to last long; representations on the subject were made to the British authorities at home; and on the fifth of September, 1717, a royal proclamation was issued and published in the London Gazette to the effect that 'the usual retreat and general receptacle for pirates is at Providence, the principal of those islands [the Bahamas], and that 'His Majesty has been further graciously pleased to give directions for dislodging those pirates who have taken shelter in the said islands, as well as for securing those islands and making settlements and a fortification there for the safety and benefit of trade and navigation in those seas for the future.' Accordingly, in 1718, Captain Woodes Rogers, whose name is famous in the records of English seamen¹, was sent out to re-establish a regular government and to put down piracy. Himself a buccaneer, though a high-class one, and accustomed to deal with lawless men, Rogers was well fitted for the post for which he had been selected. Law and order were restored, some of the pirates were killed or driven out, others settled down. Orderly citizens, a small Council was instituted, and colonies introduced, including a certain number of German emigrants from the Palatinate, who made up the population to a total not exceeding 1,000 in all. From this time onward the Bahamas were in all senses a British dependency. Salt-raking was one of the chief industries of the settlers.

¹ For an account of Rogers's voyage round the world in 1708-11, on which he was accompanied by Dampier, and during which he took Alexander Selkirk off his desert island, see Mr. Leslie's *A British Privateer in the Reign of Queen Anne*, and also Mr. Clark Russell's *William Dampier in the 'Men of Action' Series*.

² The name of Nassau seems to have been borne by the chief settlement in New Providence before this emigration took place.

especially in the island of Exuma; and such legitimate trade as existed was carried on principally with Carolina¹.

Always closely connected with the mainland colonies, the history of these islands was troubled by the American War of Independence; and in 1776 New Providence was taken and plundered by an American squadron from Philadelphia, which, however, left no garrison upon the island. Five years later, in 1781, it fell into the hands of the Spaniards, but was restored to Great Britain by the peace of Versailles in 1783, having been already retaken in that year, before the news of the peace had been received, by a handful of British subjects under Colonel Deveaux, who fitted out the little expedition from St. Augustine in Florida on his own authority and at his own expense.

The net result of the American War was not unfavourable to the Bahamas. A considerable number of loyalist families emigrated from Georgia and Carolina, and added to the population and wealth of the islands². They introduced, it is said, cotton cultivation, which down to about 1810 was a staple industry of the colony. Attempts have since been made to revive this industry, but without success, owing probably to the want of systematic cultivation of the cotton-plant, which is subject to the attacks of injurious insects and requires a deeper soil than is generally found on the islands. In 1787, by an Imperial statute Nassau, with some other West Indian ports, was given limited freedom of trade. In 1788 an Imperial Act was passed which incidentally mentioned the Turks Islands as being part of

¹ Burke says (Part VII. chap. xxviii), 'This island (New Providence) has at present not much trade, some oranges it sends to North America excepted. However, in time of war it makes considerably by the prizes condemned here, and in time of peace by the wrecks, which are frequent in this labyrinth of innumerable rocks and shelves.'

² Writing at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Bryan Edwards states that the inhabitants, who in 1773 numbered 2,052 whites, 2,241 blacks, 'have been of late years considerably augmented by emigrants from North America.' He also states that in his day the only article cultivated for exportation was cotton. [Bk. III. chap. iv.]

the Bahamas, greatly to the disgust of the Bermudians, who laid claim to the islands in question, having from the first supplied them with the main bulk of their inhabitants. By a local Act of 1799 the Turk and Caicos Islands were given representatives in the Bahamas Assembly, and they continued to form part of the colony down to the year 1848¹.

At the time at which slavery was abolished, the population of the Bahamas is said to have numbered over 17,000, some 10,000 of whom were slaves; and the community has since steadily multiplied. The colony was fortunate in not being, like other British possessions in the West Indies, dependent upon sugar-planting; and a great, if temporary, impetus was given to its trade by the American Civil War, when Nassau became a notorious centre for blockade-running to the ports of the Confederate States².

The government is administered by a Governor, advised by an Executive Council, which is composed of not more than nine members, official or unofficial, the latter usually comprising some members of the Legislature. The constitution is of the type which prevailed in plantations originally settled by the English. The first Commissions empowered the Governor to call a general assembly of the inhabitants; and in this way a legislature developed upon the model of the Parliament of the mother-country, taking its present shape under an act of 1806. The Governor, the Legislative Council, and the House of Assembly form the present Legislature. The Legislative Council consists of nine members nominated by the Crown. The House of Assembly is composed of twenty-nine members elected for fifteen districts by persons owning land of the value of £5, or occupying houses with a rental of £2 8s. in New Providence and half that amount in the out-islands.

The law of the Bahamas, as, in fact, of all the West Indian

¹ See above, p. 15.

² A full account of the extent and value of this trade is given in Governor Rawson's report on the Bahamas for the year 1864.

colonies originally settled by Englishmen, is the common law of England declared or altered by local statutes. To remove doubts the common law was applied by a statute of 1799¹. It is administered by a General Court, now consisting of a single Judge, called the Chief Justice, from whom appeals lie only to the Privy Council; by two Stipendiary and Circuit Judges, whose duty it is to go circuit round all the islands of the group, and who have both original jurisdiction and the power to hear appeals from the resident magistrate in each island; and by the police magistrate in Nassau, and a magistrate in each island as just mentioned.

The approximate area of the Bahamas is given at 4,466 square miles, or about half the size of Wales. There are about twenty inhabited islands, and an almost endless number of cays and rocks². They stretch in a south-easterly direction for some 600 miles from the shores of Florida to the north-west of Hayti, shutting in the outlet of the Gulf of Mexico, and fringing the northern coast of Cuba. The whole space which they occupy is a very rough triangle, the apex of which is formed by the Turks Islands at the south-eastern extremity, now no longer included in the group, while the base is over against Florida. Most of the islands are situated on two coral banks, known as the Great Bahama bank and the Little Bahama bank, and mainly on the north-eastern—the windward edge of the banks or of the bays which run into them. The Little Bahama bank is the nearer to the mainland, from which it is

¹ This Act, 'to declare how much of the laws of England are practicable in the Bahama Islands and ought to be in force within the same' is cited by Sir G. Lewis in his *Government of Dependencies* [chap. v] as 'the most complete attempt of the government of an English colonial dependency to determine how much of the law of England applies to it.'

² Governor Rawson's report gives a total of 7 islands, 661 cays, 2,387 rocks. It gives nineteen principal islands in order of size, as follows—Andros, Abaco Great and Little, Inagua Great and Little, Grand Bahama, Crooked Island, Acklin Island, Fortune Island, Eleuthera, San Salvador, Long Island, Exuma Great and Little, Mayaguana, New Providence, Watling's Island, Rum Cay, Bimini North and South, Ragged Island, Berry Islands, Harbour Island.

about seventy miles distant, divided by the Florida channel. It contains, among others, the islands of Grand Bahama, and Great and Little Abaco, Great Abaco being marked at its south-eastern extremity by a rock through which the sea has drilled an arch, known as the 'Hole in the Wall.'

The Little Bahama bank is separated from the far larger Great Bahama bank by the two Providence channels, North-Western and North-Eastern, said to be from fifteen to forty-five miles across; and, between the island of Andros on the west and that of New Providence on the east, an arm of the sea known as the 'Tongue of Ocean,' runs for over 100 miles into the Great Bank in a south-easterly direction.

Among the islands on the Great Bahama bank are New Providence, the centre of the colony; Andros, 1,500 or 1,600 square miles in area, which is usually reckoned far the largest island of the group, but is in fact a little archipelago rather than a single island; Eleuthera, the principal settlement on which is Governor's Harbour; Harbour Island, at the northern end of Eleuthera, containing Dunmore Town second only to Nassau in size; San Salvador or Cat Island, where Columbus Point claims to have been the first landing-place in America of the great discoverer¹; the Exumas; and Long Island.

Outside the bank on the east is Watling's Island; and on the south-east, continuing the archipelago towards the Caicos and Turks Islands in one direction and Hayti in another, are the Crooked Island group, including Acklin's Island; Mayaguana; and the Inaguas.

Mayaguana is separated from the Caicos Islands by the Caicos channel; and Inagua lies off the windward passage between Cuba and Hayti.

Cuba is separated from the Great Bahama bank by the Old Bahama channel; and, at the western end of the channel, is the detached group of cays known as the Cay Sal Bank, divided from the main bank by the Santaren channel.

¹ See above, p. 77, and note.

The island of New Providence is the seat of government. It is small in size, with an area of about eighty-five square miles, oval in shape, and lined on its northern shore by a ridge of low hills. On this ridge, towards the eastern end of the island, stands Nassau the capital, a bright picturesque town in which nearly the whole of the population is congregated, estimated in 1901 to amount to 12,534 persons. There are a few outlying villages, the principal of which is Adelaide in the western part of the island, containing from 300 to 400 persons. Nassau overlooks a safe though not deep or extensive harbour, which is enclosed between the main island on the south and the cay known as Hog Island on the north.

Speaking generally, the islands of the Bahamas are long, narrow, and low, Andros and Inagua forming exceptions, the former having a maximum breadth of 38 miles and the latter a maximum breadth of 25 miles. The islands are all low, the greatest elevation being about 400 feet, Cat Island alone claiming this distinction. Their formation¹ has been attributed to the sand and débris, washed down into the Gulf of Mexico, and carried out thence by the Gulf Stream, until met and checked by the easterly trade-winds and hardened into land by the agency of the coral insect; the islands, lying, as has been said and as might be expected, mainly on the side on which the wind would have helped the sand to accumulate. Thus formed, they consist chiefly of porous rock, covered over by rich but shallow mould, well adapted in parts for the growth of timber and fruit-trees, but too thin for more exhausting agricultural products.

There is practically no fresh water, except on the island of Andros, where there is a permanent running stream which overflows the low ground and becomes a lake in the rainy season. There is, however, no settlement in its vicinity, and the water so far has never been utilized. This island or archipelago is very

¹ Compare what is said of the formation of the Bermudas, above, pp. 24, 25.

sparsely inhabited, the population in 1901 giving the low average of 3.9 persons to the square mile.

Mention has been made in a recent Blue Book report¹ of a large fresh-water lake at the Bluff Settlement in Eleuthera referred to by the civil engineer in 1858 as a 'large swamp found to be unhealthy, not being salt enough to prevent malaria,' though the water appears to be good and the natives drink it without hesitation. In all the islands good water can be procured from wells, which do not go deep enough to be affected by the salt water which finds its way through the porous coral limestone and lies underneath the rain water which drains through from above.

The northern islands of the group, including New Providence, lie just outside the tropics. The climate is delightful in the winter, when the range of the thermometer is from 78° to 80°. In the summer, which is also the rainy season, the thermometer ranges from 78° to 92°, but the heat is tempered by cooling breezes. Thus the climate is peculiarly equable and genial. Occasional hurricanes visit the group in the rainy season. The average rainfall for the three years 1901-3 was 51.66 inches, but the annual mean is usually given at about 45 inches.

In Sir R. Rawson's report upon these islands for 1864 it is stated that at that time cultivation² could hardly be considered as known in the Bahamas, and, with the exception of pine-apples, the produce of the islands is still in great measure allowed to spring up wild. The main product of the colony continues to be sponges, the value of the shipments in 1903 amounting to £113,337. More than half of the total export went to the United States, the share of the trade taken by Great Britain being £8,619.

The Bahamas sponges are coarser in grain than those of the Mediterranean, and fetch a lesser price in the English market.

¹ [Cd. 1985], of 1904.

² The Blue Book report for 1884 states that 'wherever estates are cultivated, they are in almost every case cultivated on the Metairie System.'

The 'Sheep's-wool' sponge, however, is an excellent article with a soft and tough fibre, and though not so attractive in appearance is equal to any competitor in lasting properties. There is a variety identical in appearance with the well-known 'Turkey' sponge, but for some reason it is wanting in tenacity and is practically valueless.

Fruits may be considered to be the chief produce of the soil, including pine-apples, oranges, grape-fruit, sappodillas and other tropical fruits. For export purposes the pine-apple takes the first place, the value of shipments in 1903 amounting to £24,471. There is also a canning industry, accounting in 1903 for exports to the value of £7,582, practically all of which were taken by the United States.

Owing to a brisk demand and good prices, more attention has been devoted in recent years to the production of grape-fruit, which finds a ready market in the United States. The soil of the Bahamas seems to be peculiarly suited to the growth of this variety of the Citrus family, while on the other hand oranges hardly pay the expenses of shipment. This is principally due to the protective duty imposed in the United States for the benefit of the Florida and California growers.

During the last five years there has been a marked increase in the culture of the fibre-producing agave known as the 'Sisal' plant. In 1903 the export of fibre amounted in value to £38,805, being more than double the value of that shipped in 1900, and there is every prospect of this product becoming the main export of the colony. Valuable timber is found in some of the islands, and a certain quantity of hard woods is exported, amounting in 1903 to the value of £1,331. Some fine mahogany trees are still to be found, and the wood is used locally for the ribs of the small craft employed in the sponge industry. Excellent seaworthy vessels up to 200 tons are built in some of the islands, this having been for many generations a leading industry in the Bahamas.

Formerly horses and cattle were reared locally, but this industry is practically extinct owing to the absence of anything but a local market and prices not being very remunerative. In the island of Inagua there is a large savanna eminently suitable for cattle-raising and in which wild cattle are found, but the necessary capital has never been forthcoming to work this industry to advantage.

There is a considerable fishing industry in the Bahamas, and the Nassau market is well stocked with good edible varieties of fish brought in alive in wells constructed in the boats for the purpose.

Cotton has ceased to be a staple, although considerable quantities were grown previously to the abolition of slavery, and again for a short time when the supply to Europe from the Southern States of North America was cut off by the American Civil War.

Salt-raking, formerly an important industry, has become almost extinct, owing to the duty imposed in the United States. Small cargoes, however, are still exported, and shipments to the value of £1,160 were made in 1903.

Turtles are exported in considerable numbers, and the shell of the Hawk's Bill variety (commonly known as 'tortoise-shell') was shipped in 1903 to the value of £8,630. Some years ago an attempt was made to teach the natives the art of cameo-cutting, but it survived for a short period only.

The Bahamas lie in the course of the great streams of trade with the Southern States and Central America. They are still dangerous to sailing craft, and probably send home more returns of wrecks to the Board of Trade than any other British colony. The lighthouse service, however, which is supported by the British government, has had much influence in diminishing the number of casualties, and the population of the out-islands no longer finds its chief employment in systematic wrecking.

New York monopolizes most of the trade with the islands;

a regular bi-weekly service is maintained with that port throughout the year, and a cable has been laid between Nassau and Jupiter in Florida, placing the Bahamas in communication with the rest of the world via the American continent. During the winter season there is frequent steam connexion between the port of Miami in Florida and Nassau, bringing a stream of tourists to New Providence, where a large hotel has been built in connexion with the Florida Hotel system, established by an American capitalist who has expended large sums in the development of Eastern Florida. The total imports in 1903 were valued at £294,590, of which about £218,000 came from the United States; the exports were valued at £210,493, of which about £150,000 went to the States.

The debt at the end of 1903 was £104,226, a great part of which was incurred to stave off the financial crisis produced by the failure of the Public Bank in 1885. The revenue and expenditure, which fluctuate little in amount, averaged during the five years ending with 1903-4 about £75,000 and £76,000 respectively. The colonial income may be said to be derived from import and tonnage duties; and the improved financial condition of the colony may be attributed to (1) a considerable addition to the import duties in 1895; (2) increased departmental vigilance; and (3) the additional influx of visitors during the winter seasons, owing to the improved communications with Florida.

The ordinary currency of the Bahamas, as of all the West Indian islands, is British silver, but British sterling and American gold are legal tender.

The aboriginal population of the Bahamas was, as has been seen¹, exterminated by the Spaniards; and their place was gradually filled by a few white settlers and their many-slaves. In 1901 the population numbered 53,735, and at the present time it is estimated at 56,113. The large majority are descendants

¹ See above, pp. 77, 78.

of the African race, the proportion of white to coloured being at most one in four.

The progress of education has been somewhat slow. It was not until the slave system had been condemned that there was any public recognition of the duty of educating all classes of the population, but subsequently to emancipation the question was taken up with vigour, and the obligation of the State in the matter, without reference to sectarian tenets, seems to have been clearly understood. In addition to elementary schools provision was made for higher education, and a school, which was unfortunately short lived, was affiliated to King's College, London. The system of elementary government schools has slowly established itself side by side with voluntary schools of the Church of England and a few other private institutions. and at the end of 1903, in addition to aided and private schools, there were forty-five free unsectarian government schools under the supervision of the Board of Education, and inspected by the government Inspector of Schools. Apart from private enterprise there are now no facilities for higher education.

The Nonconformists were the first to recognize an obligation towards the slave population, and they were almost alone in the work of religion in the colony prior to slave emancipation. At the present day by far the greater proportion of the inhabitants of the Bahamas are either Wesleyans or Baptists, the two sects being about equal in numerical strength. The rest of the people belong chiefly to the Church of England, Roman Catholicism being almost unknown. Up to the year 1869 the Church of England was established throughout the Bahamas; its disestablishment was completed in 1876. The colony still, however, forms a separate see, the interests of the Church of England being confided to the care of the Bishop of Nassau and certain commissioners, in whom the property of the Church was vested by the act of disestablishment.

Nassau is, roughly speaking, between 250 and 300 miles

from Key West off the southern extremity of Florida. Its distance from Havana is about 310 miles, from the Bermudas about 780, and from Kingston Harbour in Jamaica about 660. It is thus nearest to American and Spanish ports, the former being in Florida, which once belonged to Spain.

The two main points in the geography of the Bahamas are, first, that they are a connecting link between the West Indian semicircle and the mainland; secondly, that they are a broken, disjointed collection of islands. Similarly, their history has been broken and disjointed, and has been partly in touch with the West Indies, partly with the American continent. Though the earliest settlers straggled in from the Bermudas, the first attempt at systematic settlement was connected with Carolina. The wars of the mainland affected the Bahamas more directly than other parts of the West Indies, and, at the present day, these islands, like the Bermudas, deal mainly with the United States, send their produce to American markets, have their mail communication chiefly with American ports, and in winter time welcome numbers of American visitors to Nassau. Again, while the other West Indian possessions of Great Britain have been in the main devoted to the single industry of sugar-planting, the products of these outlying and scattered islands have been varied and spasmodic, and the sea has contributed almost as much as the land to the living of their inhabitants. Lastly, the Bahamas are islands which naturally belonged to Spain but which were not sufficiently attractive to the Spaniards to be permanently held; so the first discovery of Columbus drifted into the keeping of the greatest rival of Spain, and a more sea-going race than the Spaniards has retained under protecting care rather than under strong control some thousands of square miles on the outskirts of the New World, half sea and half land.

BOOKS AND PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO THE BAHAMAS.

In addition to books relating to the West Indies generally, Blue Books, &c., and the Notice of the Bahamas written by Sir A. ADDERLEY in *Her Majesty's Colonies*, Governor RAWSON's *Report on the Bahamas for the year 1864*, printed for Parliament in 1866, gives a most exhaustive and valuable account of the islands, including a list of older books on the subject. See also Governor Sir G. T. CARTER's *General Descriptive Report on the Bahama Islands, with which is included the Annual Report for 1902*. [Cd. 1985], 1904.

Of the older books, MCKINNEN's *Tour through the West Indies in the years 1802 and 1803, giving a particular account of the Bahama Islands* (1804), deserves special notice.

Among later publications should be mentioned Mr. POWLES's *Land of the Pink Pearl* (1888), and the *Report on the Bahama Islands*, edited by G. B. SHATTUCK, recently issued by the Geographical Society of Baltimore, U. S. (1905).

CHAPTER III

JAMAICA AND ITS DEPENDENCIES

JAMAICA was discovered by Columbus on his second voyage in May, 1494. Coming from Cuba he sighted and, after opposition from the natives, landed on its northern shores, and formally declared the island to be thenceforward part of the Spanish dominions. He christened it St. Jago after St. James the patron saint of Spain, but the new title did not last, and the island was ever known by its native name of Jamaica¹. On his fourth and last voyage in 1503 Columbus again visited the island, this time in trouble and distress. Driven by storm and tempest he ran his foundering ships aground at St. Ann's bay on the northern coast. He named the spot where he beached his vessels Santa Gloria, and it now bears the name of Don Christopher's Cove². Here he remained over a year in sickness and want, deserted by Ovando, the governor of Hispaniola, with his own company in mutiny against him, and befriended only by the natives of the island, partly out of simple kindness, partly from superstitious motives³.

¹ Xaymaca (Jamaica) is said to have meant 'well-watered' or 'well-wooded and watered.' It was also the native name of Antigua which possesses no running water, so the term apparently simply implied general fertility (see Bridges' *Annals of Jamaica*, vol. i. chapter 6). One derivation of it from James ignored the fact that the name was borne by the island before any Europeans, much less English, landed on it.

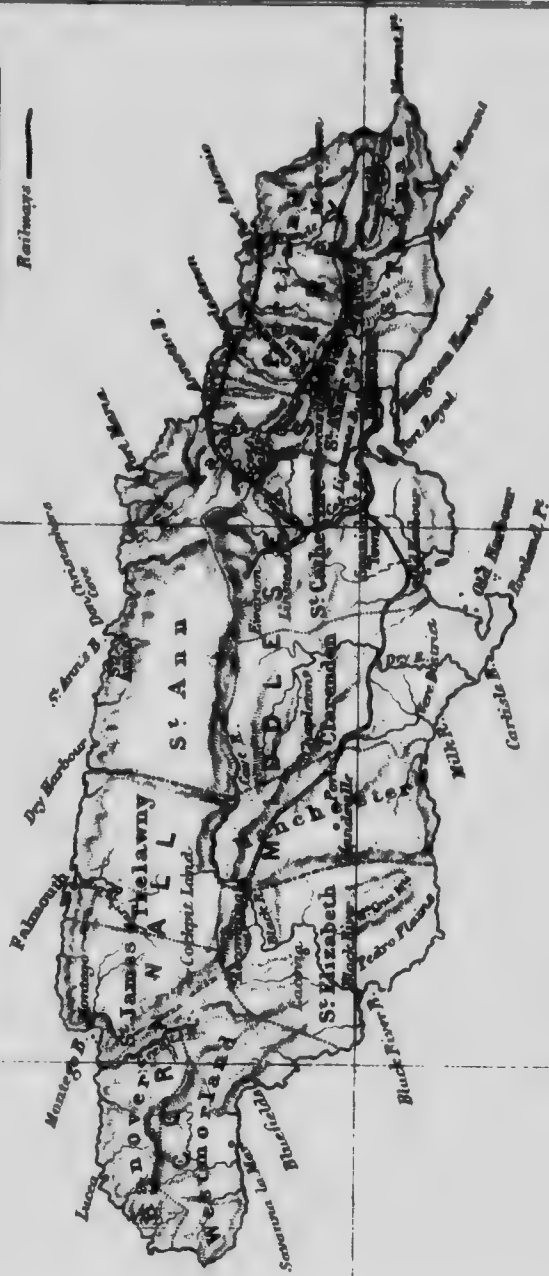
² Another point, however, on the north coast of the island, between Port Maria and Annotto Bay, is also marked on maps of Jamaica as Don Christopher's Cove; and Long (book II. chapter i), speaking of the Santa Gloria of Columbus, says, 'It is supposed, I know not upon what grounds, to have been what is now called Port Sancta Maria.'

³ The story is well known how he worked on the fears and credulity of the natives by foretelling an eclipse.

JAMAICA.

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At length his emissary to Hispaniola was able to procure relief, and he left Jamaica for the last time in June, 1504.

Before Columbus set out on his first great voyage he had been promised by his sovereigns the government of all the lands which he might discover, together with a tenth of all their produce. The promise, like other royal promises in those days, was easily made, but as the greatness of the new discoveries gradually dawned on the world, King Ferdinand found it inconvenient to stand by his word, and Columbus died in 1506 with his just claims still unsatisfied.

His son Diego inherited his rights, and, strengthened by a decision given in his favour by the Grand Council of the Indies and by marriage with a niece of the Duke of Alva, he forced the king to recognize his claims to the extent of allowing him to go out to Hispaniola as governor. On arrival there he found that Ferdinand had divided the government of the newly-found continent between two other Spaniards, Ojeda and Nicuesa, and had assigned to them in common the island of Jamaica, from which jointly to draw supplies and slaves. To assert his rights he sent Esquimel, in 1509, with some seventy men to form a settlement in the island, and thus began the Spanish colonization of Jamaica¹.

Esquimel landed at St. Ann's bay, where Columbus had

¹ Jamaica was specially connected with the family of Columbus, for Don Luis, son of Diego Columbus, who inherited the claims of his father and grandfather, compounded them for a small pension and for the titles of Duke of Veragua (on the mainland) and Marquis of La Vega (called after the new capital of Jamaica), which latter was exchanged for that of Marquis of Jamaica. The titles passed to his sister, who married into the house of Braganza; and finally, when in 1640 the Portuguese revolted against Spain and the house of Braganza ascended the throne of Portugal, the Marquisate of Jamaica with any rights appertaining to it reverted to the Spanish Crown (see Bridges' *Annals of Jamaica*, vol. i. chapter 5, and Washington Irving's *Columbus*, App. 2). According to some accounts, Jamaica at the time of the English conquest was still the property of the family of Columbus. Long says (book I. chapter xi), 'The island at this time belonged, as some say, to the Duke de Veragua, who was lineally descended from Christopher Columbus, so that it was the private estate of a Spanish subject and not a member of the royal demesne.' Bryan Edwards (bk. II. chap. i) notices this view as incorrect.

landed before him, and on its shores he founded the town of Sevilla Nueva¹, or Sevilla d'Oro, the latter name commemorating the finding of gold among the natives. The colony grew and flourished, and sent out offshoots to Melilla and Oristan², the former said to have been situated like New Seville, on the northern coast, but more to the west on the Martha Brea river, the latter on Bluefields Bay, in the south-west of the island. Sevilla, however, did not long remain the chief settlement, for between the years 1520 and 1526, while Diego Columbus was still governor of Hispaniola, the town of St. Jago de la Vega (St. James of the plains), now known as Spanish Town, was founded in the south of the island, inland on the river Cobre, and in no long time it became and remained the capital and seat of government.

Few and for the most part, evil are the records of Spanish colonization in Jamaica. The sites of the early settlements are hard to trace, and the history of the hundred and fifty years, during which the Spaniards bore rule in the island, is little more than a blank. The Indians, said to have been at first kindly treated, were afterwards exterminated, and the colony, which began with brightness and prosperity, gradually passed into obscurity and decay. It would seem that in early years, while Hispaniola was the centre of the Spanish-American dominions, Jamaica, which lay so near to its shores, shared in its progress and received the overflow of its colonists; but that, as time went on, the continent more and more absorbed the strength and attention of Spain, and Jamaica, regarded only as an appendage to the larger islands, became, like the family of Columbus with whose fortunes it was so closely allied, in great measure neglected and ignored.

¹ Peter Martyr, the author of the *Decades*, was appointed Abbot of Sevilla, but seems never to have visited Jamaica.

² According to Blome, Melilla was the first Spanish settlement in the island, and Long makes it older than Sevilla. It took its title from a town in Barbary of the same name, and Oristan either from Oristano in Sardinia (Bridges), or from a town in Barbary (Long). Some accounts place Melilla to the east of Sevilla at Port Maria.

Esquimel, the first governor, bore, according to one account at least, the character of a mild and humane ruler; under him the Indians settled down to agriculture, and the island made steady progress; and when he died, bequeathing his name to the harbour on the south of the island, now known as Old Harbour, he left the colony in a flourishing condition, for in 1519 or 1523 an expedition was sent from Jamaica to annex territory on the Spanish main.

The founding of St. Jago de la Vega naturally led to the decay of the northern settlements. As early as 1528¹ French freebooters had appeared and made themselves felt on the northern coast of the island, and by the middle of the century the town of Sevilla, whether sacked by pirates, or laid waste by the natives in the courage of despair, or forsaken for some other reason now unknown, had become a heap of ruins². Spanish Town, though situated inland, was not far from the two great southern inlets of the sea, and here, at Esquimel now Old Harbour and at Caguaya now Port Royal, the trade of the island was carried on.

Jamaica had been from the first intended as a place of supply for Spanish ships and expeditions; and its main trade is said to have consisted in providing fresh provisions for the homeward bound merchant ships. It was, in addition, a great pastoral country, and the savannas of the island were divided into some eight or at most twelve *hatos* or large ranches belonging to Spanish *grandees*, on which cattle and hogs bred and multiplied. Hence arose a trade in hides and in hogs' grease exported to Cartagena and Havana. Agricultural products, however, were also raised to some small extent, among them being cocoa, ginger, pimento, sugar, and tobacco, while

¹ Bridges seems to make the founding of Spanish Town subsequent to this date, and a consequence of the incursions of the filibusters on the northern coast.

² One reason given for its desertion was a plague of ants. Compare the account of the rats in the Bermudas (above, p. 12, and note), and in Mauritius (vol. i. of this work, p. 146, note 1).

in the forests of the island, in addition to mahogany and ebony, were cedar and other timber trees used for shipbuilding. Little or no gold was found in spite of the hopes raised by the golden ornaments which the Indians wore, but the absence of precious metals¹ did not produce the counter-balancing good of saving the natives from extermination.

Such being the circumstances of the island, a half-opened land, given up in great measure to forest and to pasture, it is not surprising that the colonists were few or that the Spaniards found Jamaica less attractive than the larger islands and the vast continent teeming with gold and silver. At the time of the capitulation to the English, the population was estimated at no more than some 3,000, including about 1,500 settlers and as many negro slaves; and though the island had then been long in a state of decadence and the buildings of St. Jago or Spanish Town testified to a greater past, it would seem that at no time had Jamaica rivalled in prosperity the better known parts of Spanish America.

The Spaniards, we are told², occupied little of the island and that chiefly in the South; and the most vigorous element in the white population appears to have been Portuguese, brought in probably when Spain and Portugal were under one government and when Jamaica was connected with the house of Braganza³.

Before Jamaica was finally annexed to the British empire, it had already twice been visited and ravaged by English forces. The first occasion was in 1597, when Sir Antony Shirley took

¹ Long states (bk. I. chap. xi) that the English were informed on first occupying the island that a silver mine had been opened by the Spaniards.

² In Long's *Jamaica* [bk. I. chap. xi] Bryan Edwards says (bk. II. chap. ii), 'Upon the whole, although the Spaniards had possessed the island a century and a half, not one hundredth part of the plantable land was in cultivation when the English made themselves masters of it.'

³ Blome gives three reasons for the smallness of the population: (1) That the Spaniards preferred Hispaniola; (2) That the proprietorship of Jamaica belonged to the descendants of Columbus; (3) That the island at first 'was planted by a kind of Portugals, the society of whom the Spaniards abhor.'

and plundered Spanish Town, meeting with little resistance. The second was in 1635, when Colonel Jackson, at the head of 500 men from the Windward Islands, landed at Port Royal, overpowered its defenders, and exacted a heavy ransom for sparing the capital. These two expeditions, if they led to no other result, at least laid bare the weakness of the island against a foreign foe; and twenty years after Jackson's inroad the final blow was struck, and Jamaica became a British possession.

The state of England at the close of the Civil War was favourable to foreign enterprise. The nation had become trained to fighting; the government was in the hands of the strongest and ablest Englishman; there was enough restlessness and disaffection still remaining in the land to make it politic for Cromwell to fix the public attention on some outside object, and to seek after new possessions, to which the discontented might emigrate, and the idle and dangerous be deported. Further, the outrages committed by the Spaniards on English settlers in the small West Indian islands had aroused a longing for reprisal and revenge; books such as Gage's *New Survey of the West Indies*¹ spread abroad a knowledge of Spanish America, of its riches and extent, and of the growing weakness of its rulers; while a further motive for action might be found in commercial jealousy of the Dutch and a desire to share in their carrying trade.

Cromwell is said to have hesitated at first as to whether he would break with France or Spain. However this may be, it is certain that his demands against the Spanish government for liberty of trade and liberty of religion were sound and patriotic, that there were old scores to be settled with the Spaniards, and that Spain had colonies to lose. He struck swiftly and secretly but with little success. The expedition sent out in December, 1654, was well designed in its objects and far reaching in its

¹ This book, published in 1648, is said to have attracted great attention, and the author is said to have suggested to Cromwell to attack Cuba and Hispaniola. [Long, bk. I. chap. xi.]

ultimate results, but as regards the actual operations at the time it was a miserable failure. The troops composed in great measure of Royalist soldiers, and supplemented by colonial levies from Barbados and St. Kitts, were 'a sad miscellany of distempered unruly persons'¹; the commanders Venables and Penn, the latter the father of the celebrated Quaker, were ill-assorted and incompetent. Sent to conquer Hispaniola, they were disgracefully beaten off from that island in April, 1655; and, though in the following month they took Jamaica, their success was due not so much to any skill or courage on the part of the invaders, as to the weakness and apathy of the colonists. Many of the latter however refused the terms of surrender, and, retreating with a number of negroes into the interior of the island, began the long desultory series of Maroon wars which are so conspicuous a feature in the history of Jamaica. In 1657 and 1658 an attempt was made to regain the island for Spain. Some Spanish troops from Cuba, under the former governor of Jamaica, landed and entrenched themselves on the northern coast, but they were attacked and driven out by the English under Colonel D'Oyley, then Acting Governor, and after the failure of a similar though weaker attempt in 1660, the Spanish government practically gave up any hope of recovering the island by force of arms.

Ten years later, in 1670, the treaty of Madrid, which gave formal recognition to the West Indian possessions of Great Britain as held at that date, finally endorsed the British occupation of Jamaica.

Soldiers are not generally credited with being successful colonists², and Cromwell's troops were no exception to the rule. They plundered and mutinied instead of settling and working; their wastefulness led to scarcity of food, and scarcity of food to disease and death. The beginnings of the colony

¹ From Carlyle's *Oliver Cromwell*. See Letters CCIV-CCVI, relating to Jamaica.

² Blome speaks of Jamaica as 'being settled by an army (the worst kind of people to plant).'

were as unfavourable as the conduct of the expedition, but fortunately some of the leaders in the island, notably Colonel D'Oyley, proved themselves competent men, and at home Cromwell set himself to maintain and develop his new conquest. He issued a proclamation encouraging trade and settlement in the island by exemption from taxes. In order to 'people and plant' it, he ordered an equal number of young men and women to be sent over from Ireland, he instructed the Scotch government to apprehend and transport the idle and vagrant, and he sent agents to the New England colonies and the other West Indian islands in order to attract settlers¹. After the first three or four years this policy of encouraging emigration, continued in spite of the Protector's death, bore due fruit, and Jamaica became to a singular extent a receptacle for the most varied types of settlers, for freemen as well as for political offenders or criminals from Newgate, and for immigrants from the colonies as well as from the mother-country. They included in addition to recruits from Great Britain some 1,500 to 1,600 colonists from Nevis² and the adjoining islands, who settled near Port Morant in the south-eastern corner of the island, Bermudians, New Englanders, Quakers from Barbados, and a considerable number of Jews.

The death of Cromwell brought over adherents of the Parliamentary party, ill content with the restoration of the Stuarts; the evacuation of Surinam in favour of the Dutch brought in a contingent of planters in 1675³; the survivors of the ill-fated

¹ See Carlyle, referred to above, and see also above, p. 46 note. In a letter to the Governor of Jamaica, dated November, 1655, Cromwell writes, 'We have sent Commissioners and Instructions into New England to try what people may be drawn thence. We have done the like to the Windward English islands; and both in England, and Scotland, and Ireland you will have what men and women we can well transport.' As early as 1656 the Council of State suggested to the Commander-in-Chief of the English fleet in America that the residents in Eleuthera, about sixty in number, should be invited to Jamaica, noticing that they had gone to Eleuthera from the Bermudas 'through the violent persecution of some ill-affected persons there.' (See above, p. 15.)

² See below, p. 144 and note.

³ See above, p. 58, and below, p. 276.

Scotch colony at Darien came over in 1699: and the Rye House Plot, Sedgmoor, and the risings of 1715 and 1745 all contributed to the population of the island.

Most of all, however, the buccaneers made Jamaica great and prosperous. In the eyes of the West Indian freebooters here was a rich, well-harbourred, half-empty island, lately taken from the Spaniards, open to all other peoples, where they would be welcomed as foes of Spain, and where they would find a fleet and army ready for fighting, if not for planting, already engaged at once in defending their conquest and in retaliating upon the Spanish main. Situated as the island was, well inside the ring of the Spanish possessions, the English occupation of Jamaica was a godsend to the buccaneers, while their privateering trade was exactly suited to the restless soldiers who formed the large bulk of the early colonists¹. So Port Royal became in a few years a great emporium of ill-gotten wealth, and the man who sacked Panama became Sir Henry Morgan², Lieutenant-Governor of Jamaica.

In the proclamation, which he issued after the taking of Jamaica, Cromwell had indicated his intention of providing 'for the constituting and settling a civil government by such good laws and customs as are and have been exercised in colonies and places of the like nature.' During his lifetime, however, while the soldier colonists required summary discipline, and while the Spaniards with their Maroon allies were intent on regaining their lost possession, the island was under martial law.

Cromwell died in 1658, and in 1661 Charles the Second sanctioned the beginnings of civil government. The king had the good sense to carry on in the main his predecessor's policy. He confirmed D'Oy'ley in his government, but bade

¹ Long points this out. Privateering, he says, 'opened a channel by which these disorderly spirits were driven into an occupation perfectly well suited to them.' (Bk. I. chap. xi. sec. 6.)

² Morgan, however, after having been knighted, and having acted three times as Lieutenant-Governor of Jamaica, was sacrificed to a change of policy in favour of Spain, and sent home as a political prisoner to England, where he seems to have died.

him associate with himself a Council of twelve persons to be elected by the people; and in 1662 he sent out a new governor, Lord Windsor, whom he directed to call together, with the advice of the Council, Assemblies for making laws. A royal proclamation was issued 'for the encouraging of Planters in His Majesty's island of Jamaica,' declaring among other points that the children of natural-born English subjects, born in Jamaica, 'shall from their respective births be reputed to be and shall be free denizens of England, and shall have the same privileges to all intents and purposes as our freeborn subjects of England.' Municipal institutions were introduced, judges and magistrates were appointed, land grants were issued, and the island began to take the form and substance of an English colony.

The constitution thenceforward consisted of a Governor, a nominated Council, and an elected Assembly; and the first Assembly, consisting of thirty persons, met in January, 1664, after Lord Windsor had left the colony. It was not long before the representative body began to assert its independence by opposition to the Crown, and in 1678 the home government invited conflict by trying to apply to Jamaica the system which had been introduced into Ireland by the notorious Poyning's law¹. Under this system no Assembly could be summoned for legislative purposes except under special directions from home, and its functions would have been limited to registering consent to laws which had already been put into approved shape in England. This principle was practically illustrated by sending out a code of laws, including one which secured a permanent revenue to the Crown, and requiring the Assembly to assent to them as they stood. It was, in short, an attempt to treat Jamaica as a conquered and tributary dependency, in forgetfulness of the fact that, if the soil was held by right of conquest the inhabitants

¹ Poyning's law was passed in the reign of Henry the Seventh in 1494; it took its name from Sir Edward Poyning, one of the Lords Deputies of Ireland at the time. It provided that no Irish Parliament should be held unless specially summoned by the Crown, and unless the Acts intended to be passed had been already approved by the Crown.

were members of the conquering race, declared to have all the privileges of English citizens. Fortunately the colonists were sturdy enough to withstand this inroad on their rights, they refused to accept the laws which were submitted to them; and their case was so successfully pleaded in England, that in 1680 the Crown gave way so far as to restore to the Assembly its power of making laws, subject to subsequent approval or allowance by the Crown.

The controversy, however, did not end here; few of the laws made in the island received the Royal assent, and the colony was held to be excluded from the operation of such British statutes as were passed in the meantime, unless Jamaica was included by name within the scope of their provisions. At length, in 1728, a final settlement was arrived at, an 'irrevocable revenue' of £8,000 per annum was settled on the Crown, and, in return, the whole body of island laws was confirmed by the Crown, and it was laid down that 'all such laws and statutes of England, as have been at any time esteemed, introduced, used, accepted or received as laws in this island, shall and are hereby declared to be and continue laws of this His Majesty's island of Jamaica for ever¹.'

About the time when the constitutional difficulty was settled, the Maroon question was pressing itself more and more upon the attention of the colonial government. The penalty, which Jamaica paid for being a large and mountainous island, was that it harboured in its forests and ravines a body of men, who throughout its history down to the last century were a source of anxiety and danger. The original Maroons, or mountaineers, for that is the real meaning of the term², were, as has been seen,

¹ For an account of the constitutional struggle in Jamaica, see the annual *Handbook of Jamaica*.

² Maroon or Maron is an abbreviation of Cimaron, and is derived from the Spanish or Portuguese 'Cima,' or mountain top. Skeat points out that the word is probably of Portuguese origin, the 'C' having been pronounced as 'S.' Benzoni [edited by the Hakluyt Society], who wrote about 1565, speaks of 'Cimaroni' as being the Spanish name for outlawed slaves in Hispaniola. Hawkins, also, in his *Voyage*, speaks of the fugitive negroes

the slaves of Spaniards, who retreated into the interior when the English took the island, and sallied out from time to time to harass the invaders and cut off stragglers and detached parties. As early as 1656, the year after the capitulation, General Sedgewicke, in writing home, foretold that, unless they could be destroyed or brought to terms, they would prove a great obstacle to the settlement of the island, and his prediction was only too accurately fulfilled. In 1657 a large body under Juan de Bolas, whose name is still borne by a river in the parish of Clarendon, submitted to the government, but more remained behind, a nucleus for the disaffected, a danger which increased in magnitude as the slave population of the island increased in numbers. In 1663 a proclamation was issued offering freedom and a grant of land to all who would surrender, but with little or no effect; and Act after Act was passed, and large sums of money voted, without in any way relieving the island of this standing nuisance¹.

It is probable that the danger would have been greater if the outlaws had been a united band, but there were divisions of race and origin among them. The Maroons proper, the slaves of the Spaniards and their descendants, were mainly in the east of the island among the Blue Mountains, while the mountains of the central district were the refuge of runaways from English masters, including Africans of different races, as well as Madagascars or Malays. Towards the end of the seventeenth century the newer fugitives had found in a negro named Cudjoe¹ an able and determined leader, and thenceforward the resistance to

as 'Symarons.' Gage, in his *Book on the West Indies*, chap. 18, mentions 'Simarrones' as being the name given in Guatemala to the wild cattle 'which were strayed among the woods and mountains.' For the Maroons in Mauritius, see vol. i. of this work, pp. 145 and 148; the note to p. 145 gives other suggested but erroneous derivations of the name. There is a *History of the Maroons in Jamaica*, mainly of the last Maroon war, by Dallas, published in 1803.

¹ Bryan Edwards talks of forty-four Acts of Assembly having been passed, and £240,000 expended.

² In Dallas's book, Cudjoe's band is stated to have originated with a slave insurrection in the parish of Clarendon in 1690.

the government became more organized and systematic. About 1733 regular fortified barracks, garrisoned with men and dogs, were established in different parts of the island near the outlaws' hunting-grounds, more especially on the Cave river. In 1734 some progress was made by storming Nanny town, a Maroon stronghold in the eastern mountains. In 1737 the expedient was resorted to of supplementing white soldiers with free negroes and Mosquito Indians, more accustomed than Englishmen to bush fighting and the ways of coloured races¹. Cudjoe's band was driven back to the north-west, towards the cockpits or ravines of what are now Trelawny and St. James's parishes; and finally, in 1738, Governor Trelawny made overtures of peace to the rebels, which were accepted, Cudjoe and his followers being by this time in straits, and as ready to entertain terms as the government was to offer them. By this treaty the freedom of the negroes was guaranteed, special reserves were assigned to them, they were left under the rule of their own captains assisted by white superintendents, but were bound over to help the government against foreign invasion from without and slave rebellions from within. A similar treaty was made with the eastern Maroons, and the whole of these blacks, some 600 in number, were established in five settlements, the north-western, or Leeward towns, as they were called, of Trelawny and Accompong², and the eastern or Windward towns of Scot's Hall, Moore Town (not very far from the site of the old Nanny town), and Charles Town. Under these conditions the Maroons gave little trouble till the end of the eighteenth century. Though they were but lukewarm in backing the government against the slaves, as in the case of the Coromantyn rebellion of 1760, they at least remained neutral, and, though by being kept apart in separate localities they retained their special character and

¹ Labourdonnais adopted the same policy, that of employing black troops, against the Maroons in Mauritius. See vol. i. of this work, p. 148. For the Mosquito Indians, see below, chap. ix.

² Accompong was called after a negro chief of that name, brother of Cudjoe.

esprit de corps, they were at any rate less dangerous than if they had all been united in one settlement, and possibly than if they had been allowed to mix freely with the plantation slaves.

The last Maroon war occurred in 1795. It was confined, principally, if not entirely, to the north-western district, and to the Maroons of Trelawny town, the blacks of Accompong¹ refusing to join in the rebellion, and by their refusal testifying to their contentment with the conditions under which they lived. The outbreak is said to have originated with the flogging of two Maroons, convicted of theft, by the hands of a slave and in the presence of slaves, an indignity which aroused the resentment of their fellows. The time was a critical one, for the spirit of negro disaffection was abroad, and the island of St. Domingo, with its black revolutionaries, was dangerously near to Jamaica. The English troops ordered up to suppress the rebellion suffered as before from fighting against mountaineers ambushed among rocks and steep ravines, and again it was found necessary to have recourse to other dealings than open warfare. Bloodhounds and hunters were brought over from Cuba, and the mere report of their arrival proved more successful than the whole body of English troops. Before the year ended the rebels concluded a treaty with General Walpole, implying almost unconditional surrender, provided that in the event of immediate submission they should not be banished from the island, and this understanding was confirmed by the solemn oath of the General. Scant time however was given them to surrender, and when the appointed day had passed without their having come in, the Governor, Lord Balcarres, made the

¹ In 1798 an Act was passed authorizing the governor to employ the Maroons of Accompong town 'in such manner as he may judge necessary and proper for the internal defence and security of this island.' The Act recites that the Maroon negroes of Accompong town 'have ever remained faithful, and have on many occasions evinced their attachment to the government of this island.' It was because the Maroons supposed that this Act remained in force that the proclamation of 1883 was issued. See below, p. 108.

delay an excuse for breaking the terms of the treaty, in spite of the indignant remonstrances of General Walpole, who showed his opinion of the transaction by refusing the sword of honour which the colonial legislature voted to him.

In the summer of 1796 the prisoners to the number of 600 were transported to Nova Scotia; and in 1800, through the advocacy of Granville Sharp, they were removed to the warmer climate of Sierra Leone. Thus ended the last Maroon rebellion; but, as has been seen, it affected only one section of these negro freemen, and even their descendants returned in many cases to Jamaica¹ at a later date. The rest retained their separate position in the island community, until slavery had been abolished and all classes and colours had been placed on the same level. Then by the Act of 1842 it was declared that 'the Maroons shall be entitled to and enjoy all the rights, privileges, and immunities of British subjects as fully and completely as the same are enjoyed by any other of Her Majesty's subjects in this island'; and by this and subsequent Acts² the reserves were broken up into allotments, and the existing Maroons became transformed into small freeholders. Yet even under the new conditions they did not lose and have not wholly lost their distinctive character. In the rebellion of 1865 the Maroons in the east of the island were called out and gave valuable assistance to the government³; and as late as 1883 a formal proclamation was needed to assure the Maroons of Accompong that they were not still liable to special military service, and were in full possession of 'all the rights, privileges, and immunities of British subjects.'

¹ In 1841, after slave emancipation.

² Especially by the Maroon Townships Lands Allotment Act of 1856.

³ The Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the Jamaica rebellion, noted in their report the respect which the ordinary negroes had for the Maroons. 'There was manifested indeed throughout these disturbances a great desire to conciliate the Maroons, and a great fear of offending them.'

Dangerous as the Maroons were in past time to the peace of Jamaica, they were yet a healthy element in its history. It was something for the island community not to be composed entirely of slaveholders and slaves, but to include also a class of black men, who had inherited freedom almost from time immemorial, who had made their own terms with the government, and who, generation after generation, had lived in their mountain homes a life of recognized liberty. It was good for the white race to have to treat with coloured men as equals, to range them on the side of law and authority, not by compulsion, but by contract, in which there was give and take on both sides; and it was good for the black race to see that negroes were not necessarily doomed to bondage, and through the dark days of slavery to find in men of their own colour an example of determined independence and savage self-respect.

The first stage in the history of Jamaica as an English colony is from 1655 to 1692. It was the new youth of the island, the age of the buccaneers, the age of lawless prosperity, when Port Royal was the resort of all men, 'being as it were the storehouse or treasury of the West Indies . . . always like a continental mart or fair¹,' and when those who came there did only what was right in their own eyes. After the first few years of difficulty and trial were over the colony grew fast. In 1658 it contained 4,500 whites and 1,500 negroes; in 1673, 8,564 whites (including seamen) and 9,504 negroes. Cocoa is said to have been in early days of British occupation 'the principal and most beneficial commodity of the isle²,' and indigo and hides were also important commodities, but it was not long before sugar outstripped all other products.

¹ From Mr. Francis Hanson's *Account of Jamaica*, written in 1682, and published with Wood's *Collection of the Laws of the Island* in 1716. It will be found with Wood's own account of the island and other interesting documents in the preface to the later collection of the *Laws of Jamaica*, printed (2nd edition) in 1802.

² From Blome's *Jamaica* (1672). (See above, p. 70 note.)

Even in 1663 the best Jamaica sugar fetched a higher price by fifty per cent. than that which was exported from Barbados¹, and only a plentiful supply of negroes was wanted to extend and develop the industry². In 1692 came the deluge, in the form of a terrible earthquake, which overwhelmed Port Royal with all its wealth and lawlessness, closing, in a scene of unspeakable horror, the first chapter of English history in the island.

The destruction of Port Royal, in addition to the immense loss of life and property, had a twofold effect. In the first place it led to a foreign invasion of the island. Taking advantage of the distress caused by the earthquake, a French expedition, instigated it was said by Irish and Jacobite refugees, set out from Hispaniola in 1694 with the intention of conquering Jamaica. They landed at Port Morant and barbarously devastated the south-east of the island; then, coasting along the southern shore, they were beaten off by the colonial militia at Carlisle bay, and returned whence they came with slaves and plunder but with the main object of their enterprise unfulfilled. The second result of the earthquake was the rise of Kingston, the present capital of Jamaica, on the opposite side of the harbour to Port Royal. Beginning as a place of refuge for the homeless residents of Port Royal, it was sufficiently important in 1693 to be constituted a parish and given representatives in the Assembly. After the fire of 1703 had again laid Port Royal in ruins, it rose rapidly in importance³; and soon became the

¹ From the *Calendar of State Papers*. Blome speaks of 'sugars so good that they outsell those of the Barbados five shillings per cent., there being at present about seventy sugar works, which may produce nearly 1,710 thousand weight of sugar.' In 1673 the governor speaks of a pot of sugar being sent to the king as a sample of a rising industry.

² The *Calendar of State Papers* shows that as early as 1657 the governor applied to Cromwell for 'licensed labourers or African slaves, and in 1665 and 1670 the want of negroes is specified as the great obstacle to prosperity. Under the year 1660 there is a proposal that Jamaica should be made the 'staple' for the sale of blacks, a position which the island came to hold in no long time.

³ An Act of 1705 begins 'Whereas many gentlemen merchants and others have lately settled and do now reside and trade at Kingston.'

commercial capital of the island. It was the merchants' city as Spanish Town was the planters'. In 1755 it was made the seat of government in place of its older rival, but three years later Spanish Town regained its political supremacy, and it was not till 1872 that Kingston finally became the administrative, as it had long been the commercial, centre of Jamaica.

The history of Jamaica through the eighteenth century runs with the main stream of West Indian history, but through its size, its fertility, and its harbours, it rapidly became the leading West Indian possession of Great Britain. Its political strife and Maroon wars have been noticed. It suffered from hurricanes, from earthquakes, and from numerous slave insurrections, notably the uprising of 1760. Like other West Indian islands it had its periods of financial depression, it gained by freedom of trade, whether legalized or not, and suffered as a rule in proportion as trade was restricted. Kingston became at once the great *depôt* for the importation of Africans into the West Indies, and one station from which the English fleets made their often unsuccessful expeditions against the Spanish main. 'War,' says Long¹, 'has ever been the best friend of this town by augmenting the consumption and demand of merchandises'; and, as the buccaneers enriched the island in older days, so in the eighteenth century the plunder of Porto Bello and Havana, and the prizes of Rodney's victory over the French fleet destined for the conquest of Jamaica, were carried into Kingston harbour. The colony, too, had foreign and colonial relations of its own, for the Indians of the Mosquito coast were under the protection of Great Britain as represented by the Jamaica government, and the Baymen, the sturdy freebooters and woodcutters of Honduras and Yucatan, sent their logwood to the island ports, and established in Belize a British possession, which till lately was a dependency of Jamaica².

¹ Bk. II. chap. viii.

² See below, chap. ix.

In the year 1800 the number of white inhabitants in Jamaica was reckoned at 30,000, and the number of slaves at 300,000. In no colony had the slave system run more thoroughly its baneful course, and in none did it die harder. The white men of Jamaica had under their eyes the horrors which brought in the age of freedom in St. Domingo, they had had ample experience of Maroon wars and slave rebellions, and they may well have feared the emancipation of slaves, who outnumbered their masters tenfold. They were, further, a strong community, with rights of self-government persistently contended for, hardly won, and jealously maintained; and in consequence they deeply resented having a measure of emancipation thrust upon them by the Imperial Parliament. The struggle was long and bitter, involving a fresh negro insurrection in 1832; the great Emancipation Act was forced on the island in the teeth of the Assembly; the period of apprenticeship was much abused; but at length the inevitable was accomplished, and the law which finally obliterated every vestige of slavery, after the first of August, 1838, passed quietly through the local legislature. It was not long before the Assembly was avenged on the Whig statesmen who had carried West Indian emancipation. In 1839 the Imperial Parliament passed the West India Prisons Act, by which the regulation of the gaols in Jamaica and the other islands was taken out of the hands of the colonial legislatures. Indignant at this fresh act of interference, the Jamaica Assembly refused to transact any business until they were left to the free exercise of their rights. Upon this Lord Melbourne's Government introduced a bill for the temporary suspension of the island constitution, and, owing to the opposition which the measure encountered from Peel and his followers, were driven to resign, returning to office again in consequence of the difficulty which arose on the well-known 'Bedchamber Question.' As far as Jamaica was concerned, the crisis ended in a compromise, and the Assembly resumed work; but the island was in a bad case, the limited immigration of

Indian coolies¹ did not make up for the want of unlimited slave labour, and the sugar industry, on which the whole community depended, was further injured by the policy which gradually abolished all differential duties in favour of colonial as against foreign-grown sugars.

Financial distress brought on another deadlock in the Legislature, the Assembly passing measures of retrenchment, and the Council rejecting them, as, in their opinion, confiscating vested interests and violating public faith. Finally, Governor Sir Henry Barkly, backed by the promise of an Imperial loan to meet claims for compensation, persuaded the Assembly to adopt a new constitution, which was embodied in the Act of 1854. Under the new order of things the elected Chamber was left much as before, but the nominated Legislative Council was reorganized and made to consist mainly of unofficial members; thus constituted it was given the power of initiating legislation, except on money questions, and on the other hand it was divested of its functions as a Privy Council: a separate Privy Council was also appointed; and an Executive Committee was established, consisting of members of the Assembly not exceeding three in number, and of one member of the Legislative Council, who were to be paid advisers of the Governor, especially on financial questions, and were, in fact, to discharge the duties of responsible ministers. The new arrangements, however, did not put an end to friction and discontent: they lasted for some twelve years only, and disappeared after the negro outbreak of 1865.

Few disturbances so limited in time, extent, and results, ever gave rise to such searchings of heart as the so-called Jamaica Rebellion of 1865. It was confined to the Morant Bay district in the south-east of the island, it was suppressed in a few days, but it roused in this country a long standing and bitter controversy as to the measures adopted by Governor Eyre under cover of martial law. Some Englishmen, like John

¹ Coolie immigration into Jamaica began in 1845.

Stuart Mill, saw in what was done, harsh and unfair treatment of coloured men, because they were coloured; others, like Carlyle, saw in the promptness and severity of the governor, preservation of public peace, of life, and property. The evidence taken by the Royal Commission tended to show that an organized resistance to the government had been contemplated and planned, and that the movement was in great measure a no-rent movement, aggravated by the want of a good labour law, and of tribunals suited for the easy settlement of labour questions. It was, it may be said, a crisis in which modern difficulties, arising out of the relations of landlord and tenant and of employer and workman, were mixed up with the old conflict of race and colour; and the episode is historically interesting, as being in a sense a link between the negro insurrections, which belonged to the past and were the fruit of slavery, and the complications connected with land and labour, which belong to the present and are the common unhappy inheritance of all communities.

The result of the outbreak was to convince the colonists that a strong government was wanted, and that their old constitution, even in its revised form, was ill-suited to the altered conditions of the island; and before the year was out the colonial legislature signed its own death warrant, leaving it to the Imperial government to establish a new system. All representation was thereupon abolished, and Jamaica was transformed into a Crown Colony, with a single nominated Legislative Chamber, constituted under the Order in Council of the eleventh of June, 1866. This system lasted for a few years until a slight collision between colonial and Imperial interests gave birth to a movement for further reform; and in 1884 the present constitution was introduced, giving back to the island, within narrower limits, an elective element in its governing body.

The constitution provided for a Governor, a Privy Council, answering to an Executive Council, consisting partly of ex-officio, partly of nominated members, and a Legislative Council.

The Legislative Council comprised, in addition to the Governor, four ex-officio members, nominated members not exceeding five in number¹, and nine elected members, representing eight country districts and Kingston. The qualification for the franchise was to be payment of rates or taxes to the amount of one pound per annum² in the case of occupiers, and thirty shillings per annum in the case of non-resident owners. The total number of qualified voters for the year 1903-4 was 12,710.

The control over the finances of the colony given to the popular element in the Council was almost absolute, as the unanimous vote of six of the elected members would carry any financial measure without regard to the votes of their official colleagues, and in no case could the unanimous vote of all the elected members be over-ruled, unless the governor declared that a contrary decision was of paramount importance to the public interest.

In 1895 the number of the members of the Council was increased. By an Order in Council of November 25, it was provided that each of the fourteen parishes of the island should constitute an Electoral District. As a set-off to the increased number of elected members, the Order authorized the governor to nominate ten members, thus making the full number of the Council fifteen ex-officio and nominated against fourteen elected members. The same powers of control as before were reserved to the elected members, the only change being that the number of votes necessary to carry a financial measure was raised to nine.

Unfortunately, the mistake made in 1884 (see note 1, below) of putting the elected members in a majority was perpetuated, and only six out of the ten nominated members were at first appointed, leaving to the governor the invidious task of filling up the four vacancies if at any time it became necessary to

¹ Of these only two were at first appointed, the elected members being therefore given a clear majority in the Legislative Council.

² This was subsequently reduced to ten shillings.

declare a question opposed by the elected members to be of 'paramount importance.'

The necessity did not arise until 1899, when, in consequence of systematic and organized obstruction on the part of the elected members, the governor (Sir A. Hemming), in order to secure the passing of a Tariff Bill which the financial position of the colony rendered urgent, was obliged to exercise the power vested in him and to fill up the vacant nominated seats.

Having achieved his object the governor withdrew the four members, but in the autumn of the same year the Secretary of State decided, partly in view of a pledge given to the House of Commons at the time of the passing of the Colonial Loans Act, that the government must be in a position to command a majority when necessary, and directed that the four vacancies should be filled up, and so maintained, which has been done. The control of the elected members over financial matters, under ordinary circumstances, remains untouched and unimpaired.

Under an Act of 1885 Local government has been largely developed throughout the island. The parish is the unit, and each of the fourteen parishes, including Kingston¹, has a parochial board, elected on the same franchise as the Legislative Council. Certain revenues, raised by the general government, are specially appropriated to local purposes, and are applied by these boards to roads, sanitation, poor relief, and objects of a similar character. The amount thus appropriated in 1902-3 was the large sum of £139,737, and the expenditure of the Boards amounted to £131,264.

The law of Jamaica is the common law of England, modified and supplemented by ordinances of the colonial legislature. The Supreme Court consists of a Chief Justice and two Puisne Judges, and its jurisdiction is based upon that of the English High Court of Justice, as defined by the Judicature Acts of 1873 and 1875. For some twenty years there existed in Jamaica five District

¹ Kingston has a Mayor and City Council.

Courts after the model of the English County Courts. In 1888, however, they were superseded by the present Courts of resident magistrates, of which there are fourteen, with a civil and criminal jurisdiction but slightly less extensive. The resident magistrate also presides in the Court of Petty Sessions, which is constituted as in England, and which is now the oldest tribunal in the colony.

The area of Jamaica is 4,207 square miles, it is therefore rather more than twice the size of Lancashire. If the cays belonging to it, about 2 square miles in area, and the Caymans, whose area is given at 87 square miles, are included, the total area of the colony amounts to 4,296 square miles, exclusive of its dependency of the Turks Islands.

The island is about 144 miles in length, 49 in extreme breadth, and its least width (from Kingston to Annotto Bay) is $21\frac{1}{2}$ miles. It lies east and west, roughly parallel to Cuba and Hayti. In shape it has been compared to a turtle. The bulk of the island is an irregular rectangle bulging out on the south into Portland Point, while the eastern and western extremities narrow into two peninsulas. The coast-line is indented with many bays, so that the island is provided on all quarters with roadsteads and harbours; the two main indentations however, Old Harbour and Kingston Harbour, are on the south, and, as the plains and open country are to be found rather on this side, whereas the northern coast is fringed with hills along its whole extent, Jamaica may be said to look towards the south. On the other hand, the southern coast is in one respect more difficult of access than the northern, owing to a number of small reefs and cays.

The island is in the main of limestone formation, containing many caves and sink-holes. It is extremely mountainous, and the course of the mountains is very irregular. Columbus is said to have illustrated the broken surface of Jamaica by crumpling up a piece of paper in his hand, and such a description fairly indicates the ridges and creases which intersect each other in all

directions. Speaking generally, there is a mountainous backbone running through the island from east to west, and there are a number of subsidiary ridges, some parallel to the main line, but the majority running athwart it in a north-westerly and south-easterly direction. In the eastern part of the island the main range is most distinctly marked, and the mountains, the famous Blue Mountains of Jamaica, rise to the highest level, the Blue Mountain peak being 7,360 feet high. The dividing ridge continues, more or less broken, from east to west through about two-thirds of the island, till in the county of Cornwall, on the borders of the three parishes of St. Elizabeth, Trelawny, and St. James, it is merged in north-westerly and south-easterly chains. In all directions the various mountains shut in between them small plains and rich valleys, but there is no definite division into mountain and lowland. There is most level country, as has been said, in the south. On that side a plain stretches, with slight breaks, from the boundary of St. Andrew's parish east of Kingston to the Milk river, including the Liguanea plain at one end, the district of Vere at the other; while, of other low-lying districts in the island, perhaps the most important is the plain of Savanna la Mar, also on the southern coast, in the parish of Westmoreland.

Jamaica has many rivers and streams, but some parts of the island, especially in the inland districts towards the west, are badly supplied with running water. The rivers have for the most part a rapid fall, and hardly any of them are of sufficient size for purposes of navigation. In some cases their course is partly underground; and some are nearly dry at one time of the year, raging torrents at another. The finest rivers are the Black river in the south-west and the Rio Grande in the north-east; and among many other streams, large and small, may be noticed the Plantain Garden river, in the parish of St. Thomas, watering a broad and fertile valley; the Roaring river, in St. Ann's parish, with its beautiful falls; the Martha Brea river, near the mouth of which is Falmouth town and harbour: and the Cobre

river, on which Spanish Town was built, and which empties itself into Kingston harbour.

Jamaica is divided into three counties and fourteen parishes. The counties are Surrey in the east, Middlesex in the centre, and Cornwall in the west. The county of Surrey includes the parishes of Kingston, St. Andrew, St. Thomas, and Portland. The parish of Kingston is co-extensive with the capital and its suburbs, it includes Port Royal, and $\therefore$ the 1891¹ census contained a population of over 48,000 inhabitants, of whom over 46,000 were in the city itself. Kingston, one of the largest cities in the British West Indies, stands on the northern shore of the celebrated harbour which bears its name, laid out in rectangles on sloping ground, with mountains rising at some distance behind, and in front the landlocked bay. The harbour is a singularly fine and extensive one, with a length east to west of about 12 miles, and a breadth north to south of 3 to 4 miles, and it is safeguarded from the sea by the sandy isthmus known as the Palisadoes, $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles long, at the extreme end of which is placed Port Royal. Port Royal, whose name, like that of Kingston, bears witness that the town was founded after the restoration of the Stuarts, decayed as Kingston rose, and it is now little more than a fortified naval station. Inside the harbour, on a point jutting out from its western side, is Fort Augusta; further up on the same side is the mouth of the river Cobre and the site of the old Passage Fort, built in the days of the Spaniards as an outpost to their capital of Spanish Town; while skirting the head of the bay is the railway, which runs west from Kingston to Spanish Town. Outside Kingston is the parish of St. Andrew, leading up into the Blue Mountain range, with its coffee and cinchona plantations, and the military station of Newcastle high up under St. Catharine's peak. The two parishes of St. Thomas and Portland fill up the mountainous eastern end of the island. The former parish, the scene of the

¹ No census was taken in 1901, on account of the depressed state of the public finances.

riot of 1865, contains Morant Bay and Port Morant, the rich sugar- and fruit-growing valley of the Plantain Garden river, and Bath with its mineral spring. The latter, which is called after one of the governors of Jamaica, a Duke of Portland, is a great fruit-growing district, having Port Antonio for its chief outlet; and it includes the course of the Rio Grande, on the upper waters of which is the Maroon settlement of Moore Town, this part of the island having been the home of the Eastern Maroons.

The central county of Middlesex contains the five parishes of St. Mary, St. Ann, St. Catharine, Clarendon, and Manchester. The first two are on the northern side. St. Mary's parish adjoins Portland, and, like that parish, is one of the principal fruit producing districts of the island; in fact, as regards bananas, it holds the first place. It includes within its limits the flourishing ports of Annotto Bay and Port Maria. The parish of St. Ann, the 'Garden of Jamaica,' is one of the largest and most beautiful of the parishes, and it enjoys the honour of being the part of the island where Europeans first landed and settled. It is one of the chief cattle-raising districts, and its main outlet is St. Ann's Bay. On the southern side of the county the parishes of St. Catharine, Clarendon, and Manchester extend from east to west. The first two are tapped by the railway, which from Spanish Town branches north to Ewarton, west to Porus and Montego Bay, and north and east to Port Antonio. St. Catharine's parish takes its name from Charles the Second's queen, and its coast-line extends from Kingston Harbour to Old Harbour. Inland, on the plain and the banks of the Cobre river, is Spanish Town, the old capital, which at the last census¹ contained 5,019 inhabitants, and from it road and railway lead north by the celebrated Bog Walk ravine to Linstead and Ewarton. Clarendon parish runs out into the sea in Portland Point, to the west of which is Carlisle Bay, where the French invaders were repulsed in 1694². The parish is traversed

¹ 1891. See note on previous page.

² See above, p. 110.

by the line from Spanish Town through Porus¹; its southern part is the rich sugar-district of Vere, and further inland is its principal town, the little town of Chapelton. Manchester, with its capital Mandeville, is christened after a Duke of Manchester, who governed the island early in the nineteenth century; its bracing uplands are one of the most favourite places of resort in Jamaica and are rich in fruit and coffee.

The county of Cornwall takes in the west of the island. It includes the parishes of Trelawny, St. James, Hanover, Westmoreland, and St. Elizabeth. Trelawny, called after the celebrated governor of that name, and St. James are on the north; their interior consists of the wild broken cockpit² land, running into the parish of St. Elizabeth, where were the Maroon settlements of Trelawny and Accompong, while nearer the sea there is a district rich in sugar-plantations, where the best rum in the world is said to be produced. The chief harbour of the parish of Trelawny is Falmouth³, while the port of St. James's parish is Montego Bay, its name⁴ recalling the trade in hogs' lard which was so important in the days of the Spaniards. Hanover and Westmoreland are the two westernmost parishes; they are, with the western part of St. James's parish, in great measure pastoral districts, rich in cattle and live stock. The port of Hanover, a small but good one, is Lucea, that of Westmoreland, Savanna la Mar, which in times past suffered the same fate as Port Royal, being overwhelmed by a hurricane in 1744. The parish of St. Elizabeth is on the southern side, between Westmoreland and Manchester. It is the largest parish in the island, and one of the most diverse in feature, with the Pedro plains, the Santa

¹ Mr. Froude states that Porus was the name of one of the companions of Columbus.

² The cockpits are a series of glens with steep rocky sides, so called presumably from their shape. A notice of them will be found in Dallas's *History of the Maroons*, Letter 2.

³ There is or was a tradition that the body of John Bradshaw, president at the trial of Charles the First, was taken by his son to Jamaica and buried near Falmouth Harbour.

⁴ Manteca is the Spanish for lard.

Cruz mountains, and the cockpit land referred to above. It is rich in logwood and other dye-woods; maize is one of its chief crops; and it has fine grazing land for horses. It is watered by the Black river, which is navigable for some miles inland, and at the mouth of which is the principal town and port of the parish also bearing the name of Black river.

Jamaica enjoys a great variety of climate, and is one of the healthiest of all tropical colonies, having within itself the possibility of complete change of scene and air. In some parts of the low-lying ground on the south the climate is very dry and hot, but over the greater portion of the island, especially on the northern side, the heat is tempered by refreshing breezes, the nights are cool, often almost chilly, and on the high grounds of the Blue Mountains, in spite of the brilliant sunshine, a fire is usually welcome. The mean annual temperature at Kingston varies from about 70° in the night time to about 90° in the day, and the mean annual rainfall for the whole island is about 74 inches, though the amount varies considerably in different districts. There are still occasional cyclones or hurricanes, which do much harm to the crops, the last one of importance having occurred in 1903; on the other hand the yellow fever, with which the name of Jamaica has been too often associated, but rarely visits the island at the present day.

Sugar is naturally named as the first product of any purely West Indian island. The export from Jamaica in 1902-3¹ amounted to 22,820 hogsheads², and the value was taken at £167,662, being only 7.6 per cent. of the total export of island produce. In 1839, the first year after slavery was finally abolished, the export was 49,243 hogsheads, valued at £640,149, and the annual average for the five years ending 1815 was

¹ It has been thought better to take throughout the statistics for 1902-3, as those for the following year were greatly affected by the hurricane of 11 August, 1903, and would therefore convey an erroneous impression. The later figures will be found in the Report for 1903-4 [Cd. 2238¹⁵], 1904.

² The hogshead is a varying measure, but may be taken to average 18 cwt.

118,490 hogsheads. Though the amount produced is so considerably less than in old days, sugar, it need not be said, still remains a most important element in the prosperity of Jamaica. Jamaica rum, too, maintains its reputation as the finest in the world, though the demand for it is not what it was; and the products of the cane, sugar and rum together, represent on an average of five years, nearly 16 per cent. of the total value of the exports of the island.

Coffee must be placed second in rank among the exports, though the newer export of fruit exceeds it in value; the quantity produced is not maintained at its old level, but the berry from the plantations in the Blue Mountains still commands the best price in the London market.

In 1870 the value of fruit exported from the island was about £20,000, in 1879 it was reckoned at £51,295, in 1887-8 it reached £337,403, while in 1902-3 it had increased to £1,317,451, nine-tenths being sent to the United States. Bananas, coco-nuts, and oranges, in the order named, are the principal fruits exported. In 1901 a contract was entered into with Messrs. Elder, Dempster & Co. for a direct line of steamers between Jamaica and England, with the view of opening up and developing the market in the United Kingdom. A considerable amount of success has been achieved, though the hurricane of 1903 caused a serious, but it is hoped only a temporary, check. In February, 1905, the same company commenced a regular service between London and the ports on the north side of the island, calling at Bermuda on both the outward and homeward passages. This new service will provide an outlet for Jamaica produce grown in the northern parts of the island, and will thus supplement the company's direct line between Bristol and Kingston.

Pimento, the allspice-tree, which is dotted all over the great pastures of St. Ann's parish, and logwood and fustic, represent time-honoured industries of Jamaica. The same may be said of ginger, which is of less economic importance, while the

annatto, used as a dye, deserves notice among the minor products of the island. A considerable quantity of cocoa has been planted, and the cultivation is increasing rapidly. Tea is also being produced, but at present only upon a small scale. Tobacco has been grown with success, and excellent cigars are imported into this country from Jamaica. In 1902-3 the export of tobacco (including cigars) amounted to 67,467 lb.

Large numbers of the black population of Jamaica are peasant proprietors, assisting materially in swelling the returns of produce and exportation. Though they do not greatly contribute to the export of sugar or rum, they make a good deal for native consumption; the growth of coffee is said to be largely in their hands; and they raise a considerable proportion of the fruit, ginger, and arrowroot, as well as the corn and provisions used locally.

There is no large export trade in cattle or horses, but the breeding of both is an important industry. Jamaica has better fresh meat than any other West Indian colony, and its horses are in high repute throughout the West Indies. They would probably make suitable remounts for mounted infantry, if the industry met with sufficient encouragement.

The revenue of Jamaica in 1902-3 was £856,514; the expenditure was £788,847. Of the former, rather less than one half was raised from import duties. The item of next importance is the rum duties; and licences, stamps, property taxes and house rates, together with the railway revenue, are the other chief items. The proceeds of the property taxes, the house rates, and some other heads of revenue are specially appropriated to local purposes, as already noticed, the amount in 1902-3 being £139,737. The net debt on March 31, 1903, was £3,631,057, and the charge for interest and sinking fund during the year was £209,208, being rather more than one-fourth of the total expenditure of the colony. About £2,140,000 of this debt is represented by the railways, and £126,500 by the Rio Cobre irrigation works, designed on the Indian model

for the purpose of supplying the rich savannas which lie between Spanish Town and Kingston with a regular supply of water.

The internal trade of Jamaica is facilitated by good means of communication. There is a telegraph line all round the island; there are 185 miles of railway open; the main roads are excellent, and, where there is no rail, mail waggons carry passengers to all the principal post-towns.

The external trade of Jamaica, which in its rate per head of the population cannot compare with that of some other West Indian colonies, is mainly with Great Britain and the United States. The trade with the latter country has largely developed in recent years, and, as regards exports alone, is now greater than the trade with the mother-country. In 1902-3 the United States sent in 40.3 per cent. of the imports and took 68.1 per cent. of the exports.

The population of the island at the census of 1891¹ was 639,491; it has increased rapidly, and was estimated at about 795,000 on March 31, 1904. Of this number the large majority are the black descendants of the old African slave population: there is a small number of Indian coolies, but the amount of coolie immigration is but trifling when compared with the numbers employed in Trinidad and British Guiana. The condition of the population is on the whole very comfortable; real poverty is hardly known, except where neglect of disease has brought the black labourer into hospital; and the government medical service is very complete and efficient.

In Jamaica, as in all the English-settled West Indies, the Church of England was originally established. The cost of the establishment led to many political struggles from the year 1840 onwards, until in 1870 a law was passed finally regulating its disendowment. The stipends of a few of the old 'Island Curates' are still borne on the estimates, but otherwise the Church is self-supporting, its capital funds amounting to nearly £60,000. Next to the Episcopalians, the Baptists and

¹ See note 1, p. 119.

Wesleyans are the most important sects in the colony; their missionaries were here, as in the case of many other parts of the British dominions, the first and most active workers amongst the slave population¹, and their earlier efforts were met by persecution at the hands of the white residents. The Presbyterians and the Moravians have also a considerable following; the Roman Catholics are among the smaller congregations; and the Jewish body is prominent from its wealth rather than its numbers.

The progress of education amongst the negroes in Jamaica was coincident with the establishment of Crown Colony government. The system adopted in 1867 was that of grants in aid. In 1903 there were 717 schools on the government list; the average attendance was 54,448, and the grants in aid amounted to £44,000. The chief drawback to education in Jamaica has always been the want of good teachers, and the government has sought to remedy this defect by establishing government Training Colleges for males and females. In 1871 a college for the promotion of higher education, called the Queen's College, was established, but without success; and its place has since been supplied by the improvement of various old grammar and high schools, stimulated by the offer of an annual government scholarship tenable for three years at the English Universities. Jamaica was one of the places selected by the late Mr. Rhodes to receive grants for scholarships under his will.

Of the West Indian dependencies of Great Britain the two which have played the most important part in history are Jamaica and Barbados. They stand at opposite poles, in size, in position, in mode and date of acquisition. Jamaica is large, Barbados is small; Jamaica lies inside the ring of islands, Barbados lies outside and beyond it; Jamaica is British in virtue of conquest, Barbados is British in virtue of settlement; Jamaica was acquired after British colonization had taken root

¹ See above, p. 91.

and spread in the West Indies, the settlement of Barbados, on the other hand, was almost its earliest effort.

In trying to estimate the place which Jamaica holds in the British West Indian empire, the first point to notice is its size. In a land where there was space for a Blue Mountain range there was space also for that freedom which mountain districts preserve for native races; hence the history of Jamaica is more varied and interesting than that of the smaller colonies, and no other British island in the West Indies owns a story parallel to that of the Maroons. St. Vincent and its Carib inhabitants may suggest comparison, but the Caribs of St. Vincent were a small nation rather than a band of runaways, they were for many years safeguarded by the mutual jealousies of French and English, and when once Great Britain had firm hold on the island, they were in no very long time broken and dispossessed. Had Jamaica been even as small as Mauritius, the story would probably have been shorter and less full of incident, and an English Labourdonnais¹ would soon have cleared a limited interior of its black refugees. Again, the size of the island has given it diversity of feature, of soil, of altitude, and of climate, and consequently special aptitude for varieties of industry and race. Large, fertile, and easy of access, with its forests, its pastures, its black, red, and yellow soils, its tropical valleys, and its mountain plateaus, it could be at once rich in timber, in flocks and herds, in products of the lowland and products of the mountain. It was not nature but man that tied it down to a single industry; the island was once varied in its wealth, and variety is again returning. Once more the size of Jamaica makes it peculiarly interesting in studying the economic, social, and political conditions of the West Indian colonies in past times, because here can be seen writ large what was common to all the islands. In Jamaica the different phases of the slave question, and the ups and downs of the sugar industry, can be most clearly traced, because in this island slavery and

¹ See vol. i. of this work, p. 148.

sugar-planting were carried out on the largest scale; and the past of Jamaica shows broadly and plainly the good and evil results of self-government in a planting dependency, and the political complications which so often spring from the existence of representative institutions in a community, where an increasingly overwhelming proportion of the population is outside the pale of citizenship. Hence those who wish to read aright the history of the British West Indies, naturally turn first to the pages of the story of Jamaica.

The second point of interest in connexion with the island is its position. The large and small Antilles form a ring, and inside this ring there is practically one island only, Jamaica. Thus it is the very centre of the West Indies, looking rather towards the Spanish main, but with ports open to all sides. Kingston Harbour is some 1,200 miles from the Mexican port of Vera Cruz, 560 from the opening of the Panama canal, rather over 1,000 miles from Barbados, and about 1,140 miles from the Bermudas. The position of Jamaica tells a twofold story. In the first place nature made it no outlying dependency like the small Antilles, but an integral part of Spanish America, if dwarfed by its still larger neighbours Cuba and Hispaniola. In the second place, in British hands it became, in virtue of its central situation and its harbours, the great emporium of West Indian trade, the great receptacle for negroes for its own use and that of the other colonies, one great point from which British fleets set out for war or peace in West Indian waters. At the present day special value still attaches to it for the same reasons, and, should the Panama canal ever become an accomplished fact, the British island which lies nearest to it must, it would seem, gain still more in importance.

The third and fourth points to notice are the way in which, and the date at which, Jamaica was acquired. It was conquered from Spain. Its capture is of more than ordinary interest, because it marks a distinct era. It was the first important colonial dependency which was by force taken from Spain and

by force taken by Great Britain. For Jamaica was a Spanish island, insignificant when compared with other parts of Spanish America, but still a land where the Spaniards ran their course, exterminated the natives, built their capital, and lived their lives of exclusive indolence; more than all it was, as has been seen, in a peculiar degree the island of Columbus, the part of America which most nearly became a hereditary possession of the great discoverer. If Jamaica were practically valueless, if it had no other point of historical interest, it would always have this one speciality, that here the English have acquired the possession of the family of Columbus.

Hardly less interesting is its connexion with the great Englishman, in whose time it became part of the British empire. It is the memorial of Cromwell's foreign and colonial enterprise. Its annexation is a landmark in English history. It indicates the time when Great Britain found a strong man to carry out a strong policy. The age of Elizabeth was the age of daring adventure, only half recognized by the State; the time of the first two Stuarts was the time of colonizing, but the men who colonized owed little to their kings. With Cromwell and with the taking of Jamaica, there came a man not afraid to make war on foreign powers, and the beginnings of an age when Great Britain would win dependencies by the sword. It was a new thing for Spain to have a part of her western dominions taken by force; it was equally new for Great Britain to take a Spanish dependency, still more to keep it when taken. But it must be remembered that the time at which Jamaica was annexed was the golden time for the buccaneers. They had already served their apprenticeship in blood and plunder, and were now ready for greater things. Jamaica gave them a rallying-point, they gave Jamaica security; it is difficult to say which was more opportune, that these freebooters should find a suitable island open to them just when they wanted it, or that the island should find men to bring it riches and strength just when it wanted them. At any rate the early chronicles of Jamaica

must always recall the buccaneers, and make Englishmen take a lenient view of men who practically made good to Great Britain the possession of her first colonial conquest.

The history of Jamaica, like the physical configuration of the island, is broken, uneven, full of sharp contrasts. The first age begins with Columbus, the second with Cromwell. English puritans succeed to Spanish grandees, and the clear, rather glaring light of business-like settlement to the dim haze of Spanish occupation. By the side of the wild freedom of Maroons and buccaneers is set the saddening record of negro slavery and sugar-planting; and pictures of wealthy, prosperous towns seem constantly to dissolve into ruin brought about by fires, hurricanes, and earthquakes. It is as though this one island had gathered into its story all the light and shade, all the brightness and all the miserable gloom, which accompanied the course of European colonization in the West Indies.

BOOKS AND PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO JAMAICA.

The *Annual Handbook of Jamaica* is a mine of information on the colony and its dependencies, including the Turks Islands, and contains a very good historical abstract and sketch of the political constitution.

The handbooks compiled by Mr. Washington Eves for the Colonial and Indian Exhibition of 1886 and the Liverpool Exhibition of 1887, should be noticed.

In addition to the very old books on the island, e. g. by Blome and Sloane, the following are standard works:—

LONG'S *History of Jamaica*. 1774.

BRIDGES' *Annals of Jamaica* (1827), which has a number of useful notes and appendices, and an introductory notice of the old authorities on the West Indies; and

GARDNER'S *History of Jamaica*. 1873.

Various books, such as *Tom Cringle's Log*, *The Maroon*, &c., give an account of Jamaica life and scenery.

THE DEPENDENCIES OF JAMAICA

The Dependencies of Jamaica are the Morant and Pedro Cays, the Caymans, and the Turks and Caicos Islands.

THE MORANT CAYS AND PEDRO CAYS.

These are two groups of coral reefs and islets, insignificant in size and importance, which, having been previously taken possession of by the British government, were definitely annexed to Jamaica in 1882. They are for judicial purposes part of the parish of Kingston. The Morant Cays consist of three islets on a bank about thirty-three miles south-east of Morant Point, the south-easternmost promontory of Jamaica. The Pedro Cays consist of four islets on the eastern side of the Pedro Bank, between 40 and 50 miles south-west of Portland Point, the southernmost cape of Jamaica. Both these little groups of Cays are rented for purposes of collecting guano and sea-birds' eggs, and for turtle-fishing, but the latter are becoming scarcer every year.

THE CAYMANS.

The Caymans are three islands north-west of Jamaica and south of Cuba. Some account of them is given in Long's *History of Jamaica*, where they are said to have been discovered by Columbus and named by him Las Tortugas, after the turtle which frequented their shores. Unoccupied by the Spaniards, they appear to have been colonized by buccaneers of English descent, and to have followed the fortunes of Jamaica when that island became a British possession. They are, by an Imperial Act of 1863, directly subject to the government of Jamaica, the Jamaica legislature being empowered to enact laws for the Caymans, and to give the local authorities of Grand Cayman power to make bye-laws and regulations for the islands; such regulations, however, do not take effect until signed by the governor of Jamaica, who is also by the Act in question declared to be governor of the Caymans. The local affairs of the islands are, under the governor, managed by a body consisting of nominated justices and elected vestrymen;

and the small expenditure is defrayed by poll and cattle taxes, licences, and customs dues.

The islands are of coral formation and are surrounded by reefs. The westernmost and largest of them is Grand Cayman, which lies about 178 miles north-west of Jamaica, and about the same distance south of Cuba. Little Cayman is over 70 miles north-east of Grand Cayman, and the third island, Cayman Brac, is only about 4 miles east of Little Cayman. Grand Cayman is about 17 miles long from east to west, about 4 miles broad at the eastern end, about 7 miles at the western¹. Little Cayman and Cayman Brac are about 9 and 10 miles long respectively, by 1 in breadth. Grand Cayman is low-lying and thickly wooded, skirted by a reef except on the west, on which side is the anchorage for larger vessels; there are breaks in the reef on the southern coast, enough to admit vessels of very small size, and on the north an opening leads into a large shallow bay some 6 miles across, known as the North Sound. There are some interesting caves in the island. The chief settlements are George Town, the little capital, on the south-west coast, and Bodden Town, about the middle of the south coast. The inhabitants, some 4,900 in number, are described as containing a large proportion of white men, descendants of English and Scotch settlers, healthy, well-made, and intelligent. The religious wants of the community are provided for by the United Presbyterians. Education has hitherto been much neglected, but under a recently-passed Education law improvement may be expected. The chief industry is turtle-catching off the Cays on the Nicaraguan coast. These are brought to the island to fatten, and are then sent to Jamaica and shipped to England. Over 5,000 turtles a year are exported at an average price of £1 each. Phosphate deposits of some value exist and were formerly worked, but have lately been neglected. There is some good grazing ground on which live stock is reared, various fruits and vegetables are grown, and the timber

¹ Long gives the dimensions of Grand Cayman at about one and a half miles in length by one in breadth. [Book I. chap. xii. § 1.]

includes mahogany, cedar, and dye-wood. The building of small schooners from the island woods has long been an established industry here, as it was in the Bermudas¹, and in their home-built ships the islanders carry on their turtle-fishing, going as far afield as the coast of America.

The two smaller islands resemble Grand Cayman in their products and main features; they are fairly prosperous owing to the large exports of coco-nuts, between one and a half and two millions being annually exported. The estimated population on March 31, 1901, was 834.

THE TURKS AND CAICOS ISLANDS.

These islands, to which reference has already been made in connexion with the Bermudas and the Bahamas², form the south-easternmost section of the Bahamas group, the Caicos being separated from the Bahamas proper by the Caicos channel, and the Turks, still further to the south-east, being separated from the Caicos by the Turks Islands passage.

Grand Turk is one of the islands which claim or claimed the honour of being the scene of the first discovery of Columbus³, but the group appears to have remained uninhabited down to the latter part of the seventeenth century, when, about 1678, salt-rakers from the Bermudas took to paying annual visits to the island to carry on their trade. This spasmodic kind of occupation was interrupted by the Spaniards, who, in 1710, drove out the salt-rakers; the latter, however, returned, and for some forty years continued to collect salt, carrying on a petty warfare with the Spaniards, who resented their intrusion into West Indian waters. In 1764 the French from St. Domingo carried off some of these Bermudian traders, and, though they afterwards paid an indemnity for the outrage, the British government from this time determined to exercise a more direct protection over the islands.

¹ See above, p. 17. Long mentions that Bermudian sloops called at the Caymans.

² See above, pp. 15, 83.

³ See above, p. 77, note 1.

Consequently, an agent was sent there from Nassau, and, before the end of the century, the islands were definitely included in the colony of the Bahamas, in spite of the strong protests of the Bermudians and of the settlers themselves¹.

This arrangement continued down to the year 1848, when a large number of the inhabitants petitioned for separation, on the ground of the distance from Nassau, and the absence of common interests with the Bahamas. The islands were accordingly constituted a separate colony, and were given a Council containing an elective element, but were placed under the general supervision of the governor of Jamaica. This system was in time found too expensive, and by an Imperial Act of 1873 they were definitely annexed to Jamaica. The islands are now controlled for local purposes by a Commissioner and Legislative Board consisting of the Commissioner, the Judge, and not less than two nor more than four persons nominated by the governor of Jamaica. The ordinances require the assent of the governor of Jamaica, and the Jamaica Legislature can pass laws applying to the dependency.

The whole area of the Turks and Caicos Islands is given at 166 square miles. The Turks Islands, called after a cactus which grows there, and which is commonly known from its shape as the Turk's head, are situated on a narrow three-cornered bank. They are nine in number, but there are only two of any size, viz. Grand Turk and Salt Cay, both on the western side of the bank, Salt Cay being about $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the south-west of Grand Turk. The area of Grand Turk has been given at about 10 square miles, that of Salt Cay at about 4; they are both low-lying islands, the highest ground in Grand Turk, on the eastern side, not exceeding 70 feet. The town of Grand Turk is the seat of government; it is on the western side of the island, and its buildings and roads are described in favourable terms. The settlement at Salt Cay is also on the western coast.

The bank on which the Caicos group is situated is much

¹ See above, pp. 82, 83.

larger than the Turks Islands bank. It is a rough oval in shape, and the islands form a more or less continuous chain fringing its edge on the northern and part of the eastern sides. Among the islands, going from west to east, are the West Caicos, the Providenciales, the North Caicos, the Grand Caicos, the East Caicos, the South Caicos, and the Ambergris Cays. Cockburn Harbour, in the South Caicos, on the eastern side of the bank, is the principal settlement in the group; it is immediately opposite Grand Turk, the Turks Islands passage, which separates them, being about 22 miles across.

The climate of the islands is said to be healthy, but the rainfall is small, the annual average in Grand Turk being only about $27\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and the water supply in that island is mainly derived from rainwater collected in tanks. Hurricanes occasionally visit the groups, a disastrous one having occurred in 1888. The industry, which engrosses the attention of the islanders, is salt-raking, about 1,500,000 bushels of salt being exported every year from the three ports of Grand Turk, Salt Cay, and Cockburn Harbour, mainly to the United States¹. Some sponges are collected in and exported from the Caicos, and the pink pearl is found in these islands². The cultivation of the sisal fibre or Pita plant has been introduced, and has a fair prospect of success, the export in 1903 reaching a total of 454,193 lb., valued at £6,563. The revenue, as a rule, covers the expenditure, and the islands are free from debt; the main sources of revenue are customs duties and a royalty on the salt which is exported. The census of 1901 showed a total population of 5,287, of whom only 342 were whites; and about 1,750 of the inhabitants were returned as being resident in Grand Turk. The chief religious sects are Baptists, Wesleyans, and members of the Church of England, the first-named being specially

¹ The total amount of salt exported from the islands in 1903 was 1,806,694 bushels, with a value of £23,678.

² McKinnen's book (published in 1804, see above, p. 93) specifies cotton as then being a staple commodity of the Caicos, and, among other products of those islands, fruit, some live-stock, and two sugar plantations.

numerous in the Caicos. There is an education ordinance, and free unsectarian elementary schools are supported by the government. The currency of the islands is composed of British gold and silver coins, and the gold of the United States of America is also legal tender at a discount of $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The amount of gold in circulation is however small, and there is no legal limit to the tender of silver. The disadvantages of the islands are the scarcity of fresh provisions, the want of an ample water supply especially in Grand Turk, and most of all their distance from the large centres of civilization. Grand Turk is said to be about 420 miles from Jamaica, 450 from Nassau, and 700 from the Bermudas. At present it is visited monthly by a line of steamers from Halifax to Jamaica, which call also at the Bermudas, and the steamers of the Imperial Direct West Indian Mail Service between Bristol and Jamaica call off Grand Turk once a fortnight. There is also more irregular communication with the outer world by the line running between the United States and Hayti. There are no local telegraphs or telephones, but cable communication with Bermuda and Jamaica was established by the Direct West India Cable Company in 1898. On the whole, in spite of their loneliness, the islands appear to be fairly prosperous, and they have in their salt-ponds a possession of permanent value¹.

¹ An account with maps, of the Turks and Caicos Islands, with some of the south-eastern Bahamas and the Bermudas, is given in an old semi-official French book by Bellin, published in 1768, and entitled *Description Géographique des Débarquements au Nord de St. Dominique*.

See also the account in the *Jamaica Handbook*, published annually in London by E. Stanford, 26 and 27 Cockspur Street, Charing Cross, S.W.



CHAPTER IV

THE LEEWARD ISLANDS

THE colony of the Leeward Islands includes Antigua, St. Christopher, or, as it is more commonly called, St. Kitts, Nevis, Montserrat, the Virgin Islands, and Dominica. The islands of Barbuda and Redonda are dependencies of Antigua, and Anguilla is included in the Presidency of St. Kitts and Nevis.

All or most of these islands were discovered by Columbus¹ on his second voyage in 1493. On the 3rd of November in that year he sighted Dominica, and, shaping his course north-west from thence, he passed from island to island, giving them their names.

Dominica was so called because it was discovered on a Sunday; the church of Santa Maria la Antigua², at Seville, gave Antigua its name; Montserrat was christened after the mountain of that name near Barcelona; St. Christopher took its name either from Columbus himself or from the supposed likeness between its mountains and the statue of St. Christopher with the Saviour in his arms. The cloud-capped summit of Nevis³ is sufficiently like a snow-peak to account for its name. Redonda, the round island, Anguilla⁴, the snake island, are so called from their shape

¹ At any rate he actually sighted and named Dominica, Montserrat, Redonda, Antigua, and the Virgin Islands.

² The Indian name is stated, on the authority of Ferdinand Columbus, to have been Jamaica. See above, p. 94, note 1.

³ Bryan Edwards [Book III. chap. iv. sec. 2] suggests that Nevis was, when discovered, an active volcano, and that the white smoke gave it its name. In some of the old books, e.g. in John Smith's account, the name appears as Mevis, and *The History of the Caribbean Islands* speaks of 'the island called Nieves, otherwise Mevis.'

⁴ Another derivation of the name of Anguilla is from the snakes supposed to have infested the island.

real or fancied; and the Virgin Islands, multiplied in the imagination of their first European visitors, were named after the well-known legend of St. Ursula and the eleven thousand virgins.

The Spaniards had little or no dealings with these islands beyond discovering and naming them¹; they preferred to establish themselves on larger islands and nearer to the mainland; and they only began to set value on the Leeward group when they found that French and English had entered in and settled side by side.

The first settlement was in St. Kitts or Liamuiga, 'the fertile island,' as it is said to have been called by the natives. In January, 1623², a 'worthy industrious gentleman,' Thomas Warner, despatched by a Mr. Ralph Merrifield, arrived there with a small company, built a fort, and planted a crop of tobacco, which was destroyed by a hurricane. Warner obtained the protection and patronage of the Earl of Carlisle, who sent out a ship with supplies in 1624, and, after returning to England, he went out again to St. Kitts in 1625, having been granted a commission, by which the islands of 'St. Christopher, alias Merwar's Hope, Nevis, Barbados, and Montserrat' were taken under Royal protection and given over to his custody as the King's lieutenant. On the very day that he landed in 1625, or at any rate about the same date, Desnambuc, a privateering sailor from Dieppe, also touched at the island, and being well received determined to settle there.

St. Kitts was at this time inhabited by Caribs, who, as in numberless other instances of native tribes, were at first friendly to the Europeans, then found cause to suspect them, and finally were partly killed, partly driven out. Common danger accounts

¹ In 1520 Antonio Serrano was given authority by the King of Spain to colonize Guadeloupe, and to be governor of Antigua, Montserrat, Dominica, and other islands, but the grant appears to have come to nothing.

² From *The Narrative* edited by Captain John Smith in August, 1629, which states that the first English colonists found three Frenchmen already on the island.

for the friendship which at first existed between the French and the English, and, though the island came under the cognizance of the two rival governments, being included on the one hand in the celebrated grant of the Caribbean islands made by Charles the First to the Earl of Carlisle¹, and on the other in the charter of colonization procured by Richelieu on Desnambuc's representations for the French 'Company of the islands of America,' it was amicably divided between the two nations, and Desnambuc and Warner had the good sense to agree that war between France and Great Britain should not necessarily imply war between French and English in St. Christopher². By the division the French were given the two ends of the island, the north-western or windward end, in which was the settlement of Sandy Point, being known as Capsterre³, and the south-eastern or leeward end as Basseterre; while the English had the advantage of concentration in their settlement, being awarded the middle of the island from sea to sea, according to description the better, the larger, and the more defensible part.

This was the beginning of British and French colonization in the Leeward Islands, indeed in the West Indies generally; and it is well to notice here first, how far the Leeward Islands were English or French in their colonization, and secondly, to what extent they constituted a single group.

As regards the first point St. Kitts was, as has been seen, colonized partly by English, partly by French, the English being apparently prior in point of time; Antigua, Nevis, and Montserrat were purely English from the first; Dominica, which lies apart from the others, was distinctly rather French than English

¹ The division of the island, however, in May, 1627, was prior to the Carlisle grant in July, 1627, as to which see below, p. 173.

² See above, p. 42.

³ As regards the generic names Capsterre and Basseterre, Du Tertre says, speaking of Guadeloupe [chap. i. sec. 1] 'Cabsterre c'est comme qui diroit caput terræ teste de terre, car comme le vent tire tousjours de l'Orient à l'Occident, cette partie de la terre qui fait face au vent est appelée Cabsterre, et celle qui est au dessous du vent Basseterre.' A simpler meaning would seem to be high and low land, respectively.

in its settlement; while the colonization of the Virgin Islands was, it would seem, in great measure the result of spasmodic buccaneering enterprise.

As regards the second point, these islands, with the exception of Dominica, have been from the first grouped together in history as in geography. They were colonized from St. Kitts as a common centre. They were all, including Dominica, covered by the Carlisle grant; and, down to the beginning of 1671, they were, so far as they were English, part of a general government of the Caribbean islands. In that year St. Kitts, Nevis, Montserrat, Antigua, Barbuda, Anguilla, 'and all other the Leeward Islands,' were separated from Barbados and the Caribbean islands to windward of Guadeloupe, but were still kept together under one Governor-in-Chief, and from the first¹ it was apparently intended that they should have a General Assembly. In 1689, the first year of the reign of William and Mary, this intention was definitely expressed and definitely carried out. The commission issued to Christopher Codrington, in September of that year, constituted him 'Governor-in-Chief in and over our islands of Nevis, St. Christopher's, Montserrat, Antegoa, Barbouda, Anguilla, and all other our islands, colonys, and Plantations in America, commonly called or known by the name of our Charibbee Islands, lying and being to leeward of Guadeloupe, to the island of St. John de Porto Rico, which now are or hereafter shall be under our subjection and government,' and empowered him, with the advice and consent of the Councils of the respective islands, from time to time to call Assemblies of the Freeholders and Planters, jointly or severally within any of the islands, which Assemblies, in conjunction with the Governor and Councils, were to make laws for the good government of the islands, jointly or severally. Thus the same document provided at once for a separate legislature for each island, and for a federal legislature for the whole group; and in either case the legislature consisted of two houses, a nominated Council, and an elected Assembly.

¹ See below, p. 147.

The following year, in November, 1690, the General Legislature met for the first time; it held its fifth meeting at Nevis in 1705, when it defined its powers in an 'Act to settle General Councils and General Assemblies for the Caribbee Islands in America, and to secure to each particular island their own peculiar laws and customs'—which Act provided, among other points, that each island should elect five representatives to the General Assembly; and it appears hardly to have met again¹ till April, 1798, when, after an interval of nearly a century, it held its last meeting.

It seems at first sight strange that this federal constitution should have been so little utilized and had so lingering and spasmodic an existence; but it must be borne in mind that the intention from the first was that the General Legislature should not meet at regular intervals, but should be called together only when the Governor-in-Chief deemed it necessary or advisable, without having apparently any clearly defined sphere distinct from that of the local legislatures, but simply supplementing them on extraordinary occasions. In view therefore of the difficulty of communication between the different islands, their separate interests, and to a large extent separate fortunes in peace and war, it is not wonderful that the federal constitution was soon lost sight of, and that each member of the federation took its own course. In 1816 the old Leeward Islands government was broken up into two divisions, Antigua and Montserrat forming one, St. Kitts, Nevis, and the Virgin Islands the other. In 1833 they were reunited under one governor, Dominica being added as well, and the revival of the old General Legislature was at once contemplated. An attempt in this direction, however, made in 1837, proved unsuccessful; and it was not till 1871 that the Leeward Islands again became a federal colony, taking in

¹ In 1710 Governor Park called together a General Assembly of the islands at St. Kitts, but, in consequence of disputes with the governor, it separated without doing any business.

Dominica also, although, as it lies to windward of Guadeloupe, that colony has had no part in the past political traditions of the federation.

St. Kitts, once settled, proved a nursery of colonization for the other islands. In 1628, one of the planters, named Littleton, obtained a grant from Lord Carlisle of the island of Barbuda, which he named Dulcina, from the reports which were brought of 'the excellency and pleasantness thereof'. The settlement unfortunately proved still-born, either because the island belied its good repute, or from the hostility of the natives in the neighbouring islands. The same year, however, saw a more successful attempt at colonization, Nevis being settled from St. Kitts.

Meanwhile the Spaniards had become aroused to the fact that French and English were taking root in islands, always considered to be part of their own domain; and in 1629 they sent a strong force, which for the time nearly annihilated the growing colonies in St. Kitts and Nevis. The French evacuated their settlements and embarked for Antigua. Of the English, 600 were condemned to the Spanish mines, some were carried off to Cartagena and Havana, and thence shipped to England, where they arrived in the following summer in a destitute condition, and the whole were summarily ordered to quit the island on pain of death. Upon the departure of the Spanish fleet, however, the few remaining settlers held their ground; in three months' time Desnambuc brought back his scattered followers from the neighbouring islands and re-established his colony; and the only lasting result of the attack was to give Cromwell at a later date one among several excuses for making war on Spain. The French refugees had not liked the look of Antigua as a place of settlement, but three years later¹ the English took a different view, for in 1632 both that

¹ From John Smith's account.

² In one account, however, given in the *Calendar of State Papers* under the year 1666 (?) [No. 1368], Antigua is spoken of as having been settled about 1625 or 1626.

island and Montserrat were colonized from St. Kitts, Montserrat being settled mainly by Irish Roman Catholics. In the same year the number of French settlers at Dominica, in addition to negro slaves, is stated to have amounted to 349, living, it would seem, in peace and friendship with the Caribs. Of the other islands, Anguilla was colonized by Englishmen in 1650; and a party of Dutch buccaneers, who established themselves at Tortola in 1648, but who were subsequently ousted by the English, appear to have been the first settlers in the Virgin Islands¹ which at present belong to Great Britain.

After the first few years of settlement the colonies in the Leeward Islands grew fast. In 1637 the English population of St. Kitts was estimated at from 12,000 to 13,000, and in 1640 there were stated to be 4,000 whites in Nevis. The growth of Antigua was later, as in 1640 the colony was said to consist only of about thirty families. The main product in early days was tobacco; and to such an extent was it grown, that in 1637 Royal instructions were issued, pointing out that the excessive cultivation of this product had led to the neglect of cotton and other commodities, and had compelled the colonists to rely on the Dutch for supplies of corn and grain.

The establishment of the Commonwealth coloured the fortunes of the islands to no inconsiderable extent. Antigua was one of the Royalist colonies², and was included with Virginia, Barbados, and the Bermudas in the Imperial Act of October, 1650, which prohibited trade with those dependencies, on account of their rebellious attitude towards the home government. The war with the Netherlands and the passing of the

¹ Santa Cruz or St. Croix, one of the Virgin Islands, which now belongs to Denmark, was jointly occupied by English and Dutch as early as 1625. [See above, p. 48.]

² In 1656 a petition from Antigua described the island as in great distress, owing to the former governor having declared for the Royalists, the war between England and Holland, the prohibition of foreign trade, and the want of supplies of servants from England.

Navigation Act¹, designed to kill out the Dutch carrying trade, was a blow to all the West Indian colonies; while the taking of Jamaica² drew off settlers from the smaller islands and brought in a powerful competitor for the West Indian trade.

Meanwhile Lord Carlisle had died, and in 1647 his son and heir had leased his patent of the Caribbean islands to Francis, Lord Willoughby of Parham³. An energetic, adventurous man, first a Parliamentarian, then a Royalist, Lord Willoughby went out from exile in Holland to take up the government of the British West Indies in the spring of 1650. Landing at Barbados, he went on to the Leeward Islands; and, having done what he could during a few weeks to hold them firm for the king, he returned to Barbados to defend that island against the forces of the Commonwealth.

Compelled to give up his government in 1652, he returned to it in 1663 after the restoration of the Stuarts, and governed till 1666, when he was lost at sea, and was succeeded by his brother, William, Lord Willoughby. The latter went out in 1667, holding a commission for three years as Governor-in-Chief of the Caribbee Islands. The years, during which the Willoughbys held rule, were a critical time for the Leeward Islands. Their commerce had been crippled by the action of the Imperial government, while free trade was filling the ports of the French islands. Great Britain was at war with both the Netherlands and France. De Ruyter, the famous Dutch admiral, was making himself felt on the coast of Africa and in the West Indian seas; and, repulsed from Barbados in April,

¹ The first Act of Navigation was passed by the government of the Commonwealth in October, 1651. The policy was continued after the Restoration, and the great law on the subject was passed in Charles the Second's reign in 1660.

² e.g. a large number of settlers emigrated from Nevis to Jamaica, see above, p. 101. In a letter dated October, 1664, an abstract of which is given in the *Calendar of State Papers* [819], Jamaica is spoken of as being fatal to Barbados, St. Kitts, Nevis, and the Bermudas.

³ For a full account of the Carlisle patent and Lord Willoughby, see the following chapter.

1665, he passed on to the Leeward Islands, and carried away sixteen ships from Nevis and Montserrat.

Living side by side in St. Kitts, the French and English had long alternated between friendship and enmity; and the war between France and Great Britain awoke a struggle between the colonists of the rival nations for the mastery in the Leeward Islands. The French appear to have been at the time better supplied and supported from home; they found allies in Irish malcontents and in Indians from Dominica and St. Vincent, whom, in the words of an English account, they used as their bloodhounds; and in 1666 they struck a severe blow at the English power in the West Indies. Attacking their neighbours in St. Kitts, they conquered the whole island, in part through the cowardice, if not the treachery, of some of the English leaders, who had been reinforced by 500 men from Nevis and 200 hard-fighting buccaneers. The articles of capitulation for St. Kitts were signed in April, 1666; later in the same year Antigua also passed into French possession; Montserrat followed suit in the following January; and Nevis was hardly kept for the English by a successful sea-fight. Fortunately the French successes did not last long. About the end of April, 1667, Lord Willoughby re-took Antigua and Montserrat, and, though an attempt to recover St. Kitts in the following June proved unsuccessful, it was provided in the peace of Breda, signed on the 31st of July, 1667, that the English part of the island should be restored to its former owners. Considerable delay occurred in carrying out the provisions of the treaty, but, in spite of outstanding claims and counter-claims, the Governor of the Leeward Islands was at length able to report, in July, 1671, that he was in full and quiet possession of so much of St. Christopher as had belonged to Great Britain in 1665.

The changes and chances which had befallen the Leeward Islands had at least the merit of making them better known to the authorities at home, and reports upon their advantages and their wants were sent by the second Lord Willoughby and his

successors. Sugar¹ was by this time the chief product in all the West Indies, but the commodities of the Leeward Islands included also tobacco, indigo, cotton, ginger, and wool, tobacco being specially grown in Antigua. The islands had suffered greatly from the war, and hurricanes had added to their distress. St. Kitts, which was said to have contained at least 10,000 inhabitants before the French invasion, in 1670 had only one-third of the number, and two years later it was proposed to replenish the population by importing criminals from England. This island, however, was still considered the best suited for the seat of government, and in 1672 the Governor placed on record his opinion that whichever nation, French or English, was sole master of St. Kitts, would be master also of the rest of these islands. Nevis, too, had felt the strain of war, though the French had not succeeded in taking it; it had been a place of refuge for the settlers from the other islands, and, considering its small size, it deserved the account given of it in 1671 as the most considerable of the Leeward Islands, being apparently at that time the centre of the sugar trade in the group. Montserrat, described as very fertile and well re-settled after the war, and as the securest of all the Caribbees, was almost entirely peopled by Irish, many of whom rebelled on the occasion of the French outbreak, and plundered the loyal colonists. Antigua was spoken of by Lord Willoughby as having suffered the most during the war, but as being incomparably the best, and wanting only due encouragement from home to become a second Barbados. Its size, the fertility of its soil, and still more its 'incomparable safe harbours,' were giving it pre-eminence over the other islands; but French, Indians, and Irish had all contributed to its distress, and in 1670 weariness of perpetual hurricanes was taking off settlers to Carolina. Of the smaller islands Barbuda would seem to have been finally settled from Antigua about

¹ A good illustration of the extent to which sugar was, so to speak, the common measure of the Leeward Islands, is found in a report of the Governor made in 1671; in which, when describing the judicial arrangements, he speaks of courts for all suits under the value of 1,000 lb. of sugar.

1661-2, and in 1668 was reported upon by Lord Willoughby as the most proper island in the Indies for cattle, horses, and sheep; while the same report alludes to Anguilla as inhabited by 200 or 300 English, mainly refugees during the war, and speaks of the island as not worth keeping.

It is from the time of the French war that the Leeward Islands date their existence as a separate colony. Events had shown the desirability of having the seat of government nearer than Barbados, in the event of future wars with the French, and the Barbadians were rightly or wrongly suspected of not having any great inclination to further the interests of the more northerly islands, as being antagonistic to their own; so, as has been seen, the government of the Leewards was in 1671 separated from that of Barbados and the Windward Islands, and the Governor's commission and instructions provided for the appointment of deputy-governors for the various islands, as well as for the establishment of Councils, Assemblies, Courts of Judicature, and Courts of Admiralty. Each island apparently was to have its own Legislature, but a General Assembly would seem also to have been either actually established or at least contemplated¹, for mention is made shortly afterwards of a petition from the 'Representatives of the Leeward Islands'.² St. Kitts had been recommended, in view of its past importance, as the seat of government, but the first Governor, Sir W. Stapleton, made Nevis his centre, and about 1696 General Codrington gave the preference to Antigua.

While St. Kitts and its neighbours were being constituted a separate British colony, the English were at the same time extending their influence among the small islands to the north-west. Here the Dutch had been the principal European settlers; but, in 1665, a buccaneering expedition from Jamaica, commissioned by the Governor, set out with the view of reducing some of their possessions. They were successful in taking

¹ See above, p. 140.

² In 1674. See the *Calendar of State Papers* under this year, No. 1365.

St. Eustatius and Saba, from the former of which they subsequently sent a detachment to fight the French in St. Kitts¹; but their further design on Tortola was abandoned. However, when the troubles with France were ended, and Charles the Second, by the secret treaty of May, 1670, had joined hands with Louis the Fourteenth against the Netherlands, Tortola was in 1672 taken from the Dutch, and shortly afterwards that island, with its dependencies, is said to have² been included in the commission of the Governor of the Leeward Islands.

It has been noticed that the earliest European settlers in Dominica were mainly Frenchmen. Dominica and St. Vincent were the two West Indian islands where the Caribs were most numerous, and the French facility for dealing with savages, as well as the fact that the neighbouring islands of Guadeloupe and Mariegalante were in French possession, gave to France an advantage over Great Britain as far as Dominica was concerned. In 1640 Aubert, the French Governor of Guadeloupe, by wise and kindly dealings, confirmed peace and friendship between the Caribs and his countrymen, and in 1660 a treaty appears to have been made between English, French, and natives, by which the last-named were to be left in undisturbed possession of St. Vincent and Dominica³. The neutrality of the latter island, however, was but doubtfully observed, and some twelve or thirteen years later the English authorities in Barbados disclaimed all knowledge that any such agreement had been made.

Dominica had been included in the original Carlisle grant; it was included also in the transfer of that grant to Lord Willoughby; and in 1668 Captain Warner, the half-breed son of the colonizer of the Leeward Islands, born of an Indian mother and married to an Indian wife, was sent there to con-

¹ See above, p. 145.

² From Bryan Edwards, whose account is that Dutch buccaneers settled in Tortola in 1648, and were driven out by English buccaneers in 1666, and that Tortola and its dependencies were soon afterwards annexed to the Leeward Islands Government, in a commission granted by King Charles the Second to Sir William Stapleton. [Bk. III. chap. iv. sec. 5.]

³ See above, pp. 57, 58.

ciliate the Indians, to represent British claims, and to further British interests. Warner's Indian connexion seems to have brought his mission some measure of success, for in the same year the Caribs of the island were reported to have been brought by treaty under obedience to the English Crown, and three or four years afterwards the English title to the island was said to rest on lawful purchase from the natives. Its possession was the more coveted on account of a report that a silver mine had been found there, and in 1673 Warner's commission as deputy-governor was renewed by the Barbados government, for being to windward of Guadeloupe Dominica had not been severed from Barbados when the division was made of the Caribbean Islands belonging to or claimed by Great Britain. Any British pretensions, however, were met by counter-claims on the part of the French, and protests against the infringement of neutrality; in 1674 Warner was killed in an attack made on the Dominica Caribs by an expedition from Antigua, headed by his own half-brother¹, and by his death any opportunity of conciliating the natives to British rule was indefinitely postponed.

It was in the same year, 1674, that Christopher Codrington removed from Barbados to Antigua. He and his family did much for the Leeward Islands; he gave an impetus to the sugar industry; he governed the group in difficult years from 1689 to 1698, when he died and was succeeded in his government by his son²; and he became owner of the island of Barbuda, which was held by the Codrington family down to

¹ The account given is that, in consequence of the constant incursions of the Caribs, the inhabitants of Antigua in 1674 asked and obtained permission from Sir W. Stapleton, the Governor-in-Chief, to make an expedition against Dominica. They prevailed upon their own Lieutenant-Governor, Colonel Philip Warner, to head it, and in a massacre of the Caribs, which ensued, his half-brother was killed. He was accused of having murdered him himself, and was sent for trial first to England and then to Barbados, but was finally acquitted. One point at any rate is clear from the narrative, that no love was lost between the English settlers in the West Indies and the natives at this time.

² The second Codrington was the founder of Codrington College in Barbados. See below, p. 201, note.

comparatively recent times. The year 1689, in which he was appointed governor, was also the year in which William and Mary came to the throne in Great Britain, and upon their accession hostilities again broke out with France. A party of Irish, always in alliance with the French, had in the preceding year landed in Anguilla and cruelly maltreated the settlers, and in consequence the latter were in 1689 removed to Antigua. Meanwhile the French inhabitants of St. Kitts rose against their English neighbours and made themselves masters of the whole island. Their success, however, did not last many months; Codrington was reinforced by a Barbadian regiment under Sir Timothy Thornhill, and in 1690 the island was re-taken, many of the French settlers were banished, and St. Kitts remained a purely British possession until the peace of Ryswick in 1697 restored to France her share in the colony. This treaty was soon a thing of the past; the eighteenth century opened with taking and re-taking of islands; but at length the peace of Utrecht in 1713 brought some hope of finality, for the whole of St. Kitts was by its provisions definitely assigned to great Britain and the Leeward Islands proper were thereby placed outside the scope of French influence and French claims.

During the first years of the century the annals of Antigua were marked by an episode happily almost unparalleled in colonial history. In 1706, Colonel Park, a protégé of the Duke of Marlborough, was appointed governor of the Leeward Islands; his private life was infamous, his public conduct was arbitrary and lawless, and continuing to hold his government after he had been recalled, he was killed in a popular riot in 1710. With this exception there is little to notice in the internal history of the Leeward Islands; they had their share of hurricane and pestilence, and, like the rest of the West Indies, they developed more and more into slave-holding colonies. The returns of population in 1729¹, which must be taken for what they are

¹ The figures are taken from Southey's *Chronological History*.

worth, showed that Antigua contained in that year between 26,000 and 27,000 inhabitants, over 22,000 of whom were negroes; St. Kitts over 18,000, of whom more than 14,000 were negroes; and Nevis and Montserrat each about 7,000, of whom the blacks amounted to some 5,600 in either case. At this date, therefore, Antigua was far the most populous of the four islands, and in all the black population greatly outnumbered the white. The superabundance of negroes had the usual result, and in 1736 a dangerous slave insurrection broke out in Antigua which was put down with horrible severity. On the whole, however, whether from the influence of the Moravian missionaries¹ or from other causes, Antigua appears to have been less demoralized by the slave system than most parts of the West Indies, and, when the time of emancipation came, the colonists, to their honour, rejected the preliminary period of apprenticeship and gave full unconditional freedom at once.

During the last quarter of the seventeenth and the first of the eighteenth century, little or nothing is on record relating to Dominica. In 1730 instructions were sent by the French and English kings to the governors of Martinique and Barbados respectively that Dominica, St. Vincent, and St. Lucia were to be evacuated by both nations pending the settlement of the conflicting claims²; and, by the peace of Aix la Chapelle in 1748, these three islands and Tobago also were declared to be neutral and belonging to the Caribs. The French, however, appear to have kept up their connexion with Dominica, for, when war broke out again between France and Great Britain and the taking of Guadeloupe in 1759 was followed in 1761 by the capture of Dominica, there was a French governor in the latter island who tried in vain to defend it against the English fleet. The peace of Paris in 1763 definitely assigned Dominica to Great Britain, and steps were forthwith taken for constituting the island a British colony. The lands were put up

¹ The Moravians first came to Antigua and Jamaica in 1732.

² See also below, p. 211.

for sale in allotments to British subjects, and leases were also issued to those of the French inhabitants who consented to take the oaths of allegiance and who numbered 343. At first Dominica was included in the government of Grenada, which comprehended also St. Vincent and Tobago, but in 1770 it was severed from the other three islands, and given a separate government. It appears to have thriven under British rule; in 1766 Roseau was made a free port by Act of Parliament; and in 1773 there were some 3,300 white residents in the island, owning nearly 19,000 slaves.

The population returns of the Leeward Islands at the same date showed an increasing proportion of negroes to whites, Antigua in 1774 having nearly 38,000 of the former to 2,600 of the latter, while in Nevis and St. Kitts, the ratio was as ten and eleven to one. The Virgin Islands, which in this year were first given a representative Assembly, contained some 1,200 white inhabitants to 9,000 negroes.

When the peace of Paris was signed in 1763 the flowing tide in the New World was with Great Britain; it soon turned, however, and the Leeward Islands and Dominica were carried with the ebb. The Stamp Act of 1765, which did so much to break off the North American colonies from Great Britain, applied also to the West Indies, and aroused in the little island of St. Kitts a similar spirit of defiance to that which showed itself so unmistakably in the New England states. The war between the mother-country and her mainland dependencies in America brought in its train in 1778 war with France, and, even before any open declaration of hostilities reached the West Indies, the French took action against the British islands. Dominica, with its French traditions and French element among its inhabitants, was not unnaturally the first point of attack, and capitulated to a force from Martinique in September, 1778; other disasters followed, and, by the end of the first quarter of 1782, all the Leeward Islands except Antigua were in the possession of the French. Rodney's great victory then turned the scale,

and, by the peace of Versailles in 1783, England regained her lost islands, sadly crippled however by war and foreign occupation. Dominica especially had suffered; its capture by the French was fatal to its trade; and, in addition, its principal town of Roseau had on the Easter Sunday of 1781 been in great measure burnt to the ground by the hands, it was said, of French soldiers, and with the connivance, if not by the orders, of the French governor.

From 1783 onwards the Leeward Islands were comparatively safe from the French. Dominica alone remained in some danger of changing hands. Its nearest neighbours were and still are French colonies; many of its inhabitants were French in descent and sympathies; and its woods and mountains harboured runaway slaves, a standing difficulty in the event of foreign invasion, and, as the Maroon outbreak of 1813 showed, capable of giving great trouble, even in the absence of help from without. Two French attempts were made on the island, but neither of them succeeded. One was in 1795, when a force from Guadeloupe, which landed at two separate points, was beaten off; the other was in 1805, when some 4,000 French soldiers under La Grange made a last bold effort to oust the English. Roseau was taken, and Sir George Prevost, the governor, retreated to Prince Rupert's in the north of the island; but the task of following him and reducing the colony was too much for the invaders; after five days they set sail again, content with plunder and a contribution levied on the settlers, and passed on to St. Kitts to exact the toll of war from the inhabitants of that island also. From that time Dominica has remained safe in British keeping, and its record with that of the other members of the Leeward group contains little to mark it off from the common history of the West Indies.

The Leeward Islands form a quasi-federal government. The co-ordinate legislatures of Antigua, St. Christopher, Nevis, Dominica, Montserrat, and the Virgin Islands, consented in 1871 to subordinate their right to legislate upon certain subjects

to a federal legislature, and an Imperial Act conferred the legislative authority in these specified matters upon a central Council.

At the head of the Executive is the Governor, who has a Colonial Secretary and an Attorney-General for his chief advisers¹. There is an Executive Council for federal affairs, besides a separate Executive Council in each of the co-ordinate governments. There are an Auditor-General and Inspector of Schools, both paid from federal funds, one judicial establishment for the Colony, and a federal police. Except at Antigua, the seat of the federal government, there is a chief officer for each of the separate governments or presidencies, who has something of the position of a Colonial Secretary and has hitherto been in a manner the link between the federal and the local governments. He presides in the local legislature in the Governor's absence.

For a population of 127,000 souls there are at present four legislatures besides that of the federation, and with them most of the general law-making power still lies. These island legislatures are composed of an equal number of official and unofficial members, all nominated by the Crown, and the Governor or President has a casting vote. The general Legislative Council for the whole colony consists of the Governor, seven official members, and eight unofficial. The latter are elected by the unofficial members of the island councils, Antigua providing three, St. Kitts-Nevis, three, and Dominica, two. This general Legislature has such powers as are conferred on it by the (Imperial) Leeward Islands Act, 1871, and such other powers as the island Legislatures may, from time to time, assign to it. Generally speaking, the latter retain the authority to make laws dealing with purely local concerns and affecting only their own finances.

There is one judicial establishment for the whole colony; and, though the laws of each island still differ in many respects, the acts of the federal legislature constantly tend to make the more

¹ These two offices are now amalgamated.

important parts of the statute-book uniform for the whole group. The Supreme Court consists of two judges. Its seat is at Antigua, where the Chief Justice resides; the Puisne Judge ordinarily lives in Dominica. The court goes circuit three times a year, and in his own island each judge sits in chambers from day to day. The various islands are formed into twelve magisterial districts, each administered by a stipendiary magistrate, in some cases identical with the commissioner, who has a summary jurisdiction in cases where the amount involved does not exceed £5.

The total area of the Leeward Islands colony is about 702 square miles. It is therefore equal to Mauritius in size or nearly as large as Berkshire.

Of the component parts of the colony, the most northerly is the group of the Virgin Islands. They are a cluster of small islands and rocks, which run east and north-east from Porto Rico, and are in fact a continuation of the Greater Antilles, being separated from the Lesser Antilles or Caribbean islands by the Sombrero passage.

The islands nearest to Porto Rico, Culebra, and Bieques or Crab island, belong to the United States of America; next come the Danish islands, including St. Thomas; and the easternmost islands are those which belong to Great Britain. The total area of the islands in the British presidency is only 58 square miles; and the most important of the little dependencies are Anegada, Virgin Gorda, Tortola, and Jost Van Dyke. Anegada, the 'inundated' island, is a narrow island running south-east and north-west. It is on the extreme north-east of the bank of soundings, on which the archipelago is situated, and it takes its Spanish name from the fact that it is only raised a few feet above sea level and is therefore at times in great measure washed over by the sea. The chief settlement is on the southern shore.

South of Anegada and easternmost of the whole group is the island of Virgin Gorda. It is a square block of land with two

arms running out to the north-east and the south-west respectively, and it is almost broken into two distinct parts, the south-western peninsula being flat, whereas the main body of the island is rugged and mountainous, and contains a striking landmark in Virgin Gorda Peak, 1,370 feet high. According to the description given in the pages of Hakluyt in *The Second Rutlier for the West Indies*: 'La Virgin Gorda is an high island and round, and seeing it you shall espie all the rest of the Virgines, which lie east and west one from another and are bare without any trees.' On the north side is Gorda sound, forming a capacious and well-protected but not very accessible harbour; and the south-western end of the island is strewn with huge masses of granite, continued to the southward in a series of separate islets, the most notable of which is, from its likeness to a fallen city, known as Old or Fallen Jerusalem.

Tortola¹, a long irregular island, runs also north-east and south-west, beginning parallel to the southern end of Virgin Gorda and to the islets, to which reference has just been made. The intervening channel is known as Sir Francis Drake's channel, for, on his last voyage in 1595, the great sailor took his ships this way to attack Porto Rico, passing through 'certain broken islands called Las Virgines².' Tortola is 10 miles long, and 3½ broad; it is one long ridge of hills, Mount Sage towards its western end rising to a height of 1,780 feet; and on its south-east coast is the bay known as Road Harbour, the small town on which, named Road Town, is the chief settlement in the British section of the Virgin Islands.

Due west of Tortola is the rugged and mountainous little island, whose name of Jost Van Dyke bears obvious witness to Dutch discovery and possibly to Dutch colonization.

¹ Tortola is the Spanish for 'a turtledove,' Tortuga being 'a sea-turtle.' The two seem to be confused in the name of the island, e. g. in 'A Discourse of the Plantation of the Southern Colony in Virginia by the English, 1606-7,' by Master George Percy, given in *Purchas his Pilgrimes* it is stated, 'We anchored at the isle of Virgines. . . . On this island we caught great store of fresh fish and abundance of sea tortoises.'

² From *The Last Voyage of Sir Francis Drake* [Hakluyt].

The climate of the Virgin Islands is dry, the temperature fairly even, and the constant breezes from the open sea make the air more invigorating than in many of the larger islands. The want of shade, however, is a counteracting drawback; the islands are liable to droughts; and, lying on the track of the most violent hurricanes, they have at times suffered very severely in consequence.

The trade of the islands has been wholly with the Danish colony of St. Thomas, and the decadence of the latter has had a marked effect upon the English presidency. The trade was always of the simplest description, and the uneducated inhabitants of Tortola and Jost Van Dyke were at a disadvantage when they found themselves in the market of St. Thomas; for the islands are the loneliest as well as the most barren in the Leeward Islands colony, if not in the West Indies. A considerable amount of cotton was exported during the American Civil War. Sugar was at one time laboriously cultivated, and paid when prices were abnormally high; now a few acres of cane in the valley opposite Tortola harbour are the sole representative of any important product. Most of the inhabitants have their provision grounds, on which they largely depend for their sustenance. Fibre plants grow in abundance through the islands, and there is some hope that here may be the germ of a flourishing industry. Sample shipments of pine-apples have fetched excellent prices in London, and Sea Island cotton of the best variety grows luxuriantly. Cattle rearing employs many of the colonists; a good deal of charcoal is burnt and exported; and fishing is the constant occupation of a large number. Lastly, the Virgin islanders are skilful boat-builders, and their small craft are well adapted for the quick hazardous passages through the reefs and shoals of the archipelago.

In the broad channel which separates the Virgin Islands from the Leeward Islands proper is the islet of Sombrero, not hitherto included in the Leeward Islands colony, though belonging to the British Crown. It was formerly leased by the Imperial

Government to a company which exported phosphates of lime, and which was responsible for peace and good order among the employés who constituted the population of the island, which arrangement ceased in 1893. On August 10, 1904, an Order in Council was passed annexing the island to the Leeward Islands from a date to be appointed by the Governor by proclamation¹. The island is under a mile in length; it is very narrow, but bulges out slightly in the centre, and 'the Spaniards called it Sombrero from its having the figure of a hat².' At its highest point it is only 40 feet above the sea, and it is surrounded by precipitous rocks, the one landing-place being on the western side. It is in fact a bare rock, on which the Board of Trade maintain a lighthouse.

On the eastern side of the Sombrero sound, over against the Virgin Islands, is the island of Anguilla, which, with the adjoining islets, is included in the presidency of St. Kitts-Nevis. It lies some 60 miles to the north-west of St. Kitts, and is at the nearest point 3 miles north of the island of St. Martin, which French and Dutch share between them. Anguilla has an area of 35 square miles. It is a long, rather narrow, low-lying island, running from north-east to south-west, tapering towards the south-western extremity. There is little in the shape of the island to justify its name, which is preserved in English form in Snake point, the north-east promontory. The principal settlement is on Krokors or Crocus bay, about the centre of the northern side. The island is very healthy, but, like the Virgin Islands, with which it has much in common, it is subject to droughts. Its inhabitants numbering 3,890 at the last census are engaged in great measure in cattle breeding and provision growing, and salt is the chief article of export, while cotton of the 'Sea Island' variety is planted on a small scale. Its market is, or was till lately, St. Thomas rather than the English colonies to the south with which it is politically connected.

¹ This proclamation has not yet been issued.

² From the *History of the Caribby Islands*.

The islands of St. Kitts and Nevis lie south of Anguilla and west of Antigua. St. Kitts is a long island, running for about 23 miles north-west and south-east. The main body of the island is of oval shape, with a breadth of 5 miles, but towards the south-east it tapers to a narrow isthmus not more than half a mile to one mile wide, which again expands into a knob of land of irregular shape about 2 miles in width. It has been compared to a leg and foot, the main part of the island forming the calf of the leg, the isthmus the ankle, and the south-eastern extremity representing the foot. This end of the island is divided by the Narrows, a strait barely 2 miles in width, from the circular island of Nevis. The area of St. Kitts is $65\frac{1}{2}$ square miles, that of Nevis 50. Both islands are of volcanic formation. The central part of the main body of St. Kitts consists of a range of mountains running north-west and south-east, and rising in Mount Misery, near the top of which is the crater of an old volcano, to a height of more than 4,000 feet. The summit of the range is covered with bush, the higher slopes are clothed with grass, and the lower slopes and base down to the sea on all sides are richly cultivated in sugar plantations. On the south side, close to the shore, is the isolated Brimstone Hill, of conical shape; and the main range at its south-eastern end breaks into a semi-circle of hills surrounding a rich fertile plain, on the shore of which is Basseterre, the capital of the island, a town of some 10,000 inhabitants. Basseterre is on the southern or south-western side of the island, and its roadstead, for it has no harbour in the proper sense, is formed by an inlet, where the sea runs into the land for about half a mile with a breadth across of 2 miles. Beyond Basseterre, to the south-east, is the flat neck of land already referred to, and the peninsula into which it widens is studded with conical hills, and contains a salt pond 2 miles in circumference. Beyond the peninsula again are the Narrows, and beyond the Narrows the island of Nevis.

Nevis is very similar to St. Kitts, except that it is circular

instead of being long. It is practically one mountain cone, between 3,000 and 4,000 feet high, wooded above, richly cultivated below on all sides. The capital, Charlestown, with a population of about 1,100 persons, is on its south-western side, some 12 miles distant from Basseterre. The two islands have a rich green landscape and a fertile soil, but they are greatly wanting in bays and harbours. From their small extent and from their configuration they have no rivers of any size, only three of the streams in St. Kitts giving a perennial supply of water. On the other hand, the mountain peaks attract the clouds, the cone of Nevis especially being almost constantly enveloped in mist, and consequently the islands as a whole enjoy a more plentiful supply of rain than their neighbour Antigua, though the amount varies according to the district. The climate for a tropical one is decidedly healthy, the minimum temperature in 1902 being 66°, the maximum 88°, and the mean about 79°. Though Antigua is the seat of government, and on the whole the most advanced of the Leeward Islands, the united presidency of St. Kitts-Nevis is perhaps commercially more important. Sugar is the chief product of both islands, and the only export of St. Kitts. Successful experiments are now being carried on in cotton and tobacco growing, and recent shipments of the former have realized satisfactory prices. Provisions are grown for native use in both islands, more particularly in St. Kitts.

Antigua lies about 40 miles east of Nevis, and about the same distance north of Guadeloupe. It is of rough circular shape, with very deeply indented shores. It has a circumference of about 54 miles, and an area of 108 square miles. It is in the main a low-lying island. The highest ground is in the south and south-west, where Boggie's Hill in the Scheckerley range rises to some 1,330 feet, and from the south-west the land slopes down to the north-east into plain, undulating downs and rounded hills. The shores are lined by reefs and shoals, which make the approaches to the land intricate; on the other hand, the many

bays and indentations mark it off from most other West Indian islands, as a place of safe harbours, if difficult of access. On the north-west is St. John's Harbour, nearly 2 miles in length, and three quarters of a mile in breadth at its inner part, secure but confined, and wanting deep water near the shores. At its head, on ground sloping up from the sea, is St. John's, the seat of government of the Leeward Islands colony, a town of some 10,000 inhabitants. On the southern side of the island is English Harbour, very sheltered though limited in space, which was the place of call for the mail-steamers, and is a disused station of the Imperial navy. Close to it on the west, divided by a very narrow neck of land, is Falmouth Harbour, said to be the best harbour in the island; and of the other numerous bays and inlets may be mentioned Parham Harbour on the north of the island, with the little town of Parham standing upon it, and Willoughby Bay on the south-east, both of which perpetuate the memory of the great West Indian governor, Lord Willoughby of Parham.

The climate of Antigua is dry and healthy; the average rainfall is about 46 inches, and the mean temperature is 79°. Absence of high hills and of forest growth marks the island out from the rest of the group, as having little to attract rain or to hold it when attracted. Like all the Leeward Islands, however, it is liable to occasional visits from hurricanes, which occur principally in the month of August. Sugar is almost the only commercial product of Antigua; a certain amount of molasses is exported; but the island rum is consumed mainly in the colony. Antigua pine-apples are famous in the West Indies, but are as a rule not sent out in good condition. Several hundred acres have been planted in cotton, and the onion industry is established on a fairly large scale. The poorer lands of the island are well suited for the growth of fibre plants which were formerly grown, but the cultivation of these has not been persevered with.

The island of Barbuda is a dependency of Antigua, lying about 25 miles due north of the main island. It has an area of

62 square miles, and is of a roughly triangular shape. It is a very flat island, the highest ground being on the eastern side, and on the west there is a large lagoon, separated from the open sea by a low sandy ridge. Barbuda was long owned by the Codrington family; its small sources of wealth include salt and phosphates of lime, and it is, as it has always been, well adapted for cattle-grazing, though little stock is at present exported, except to Antigua. It is one of the few islands in the West Indies where wild deer are still to be found.

West-south-west of Antigua is its other dependency, Redonda, lying between Nevis and Montserrat, a round barren rock, 600 feet above the sea. It is leased to the Redonda Phosphates Company, subject to an annual rental of £50, and about 7,000 tons are annually exported to the United States.

South of Redonda, and south-west of Antigua, is Montserrat, a separate member of the Leeward Islands confederation. It is 28 miles from Antigua, and between 30 and 35 from Nevis. It is very like Mauritius in shape, an oval tapering towards the north. It is said to be about 11 miles in length and 7 in breadth, and it has an area of 32 square miles. It is of volcanic formation, and very rugged and mountainous, as its name implies; its shores are bold, and the forest, which covers the mountains, adds beauty to the landscape. The highest point is the Soufrière¹ hill in the southern part of the island, which rises to 3,000 feet; and the cultivable slopes are mainly on the western and south-eastern sides. Its chief town is Plymouth, on the south-western coast, facing an open roadstead, with a population of 1,461 persons. Montserrat, with its woods and mountains, is somewhat akin to the larger island of Dominica. It has a more abundant

¹ Soufrière means literally 'a sulphur mine.' The term constantly occurs in the Caribbean Islands, and in Montgomery Martin's words [see the section on Dominica] is 'applied alike to active volcanoes, like those of St Vincent or Guadeloupe, or to the numerous quarries of hot sand and boiling mineral springs, which are either the remains of ancient craters or minor eruptions from a soil highly impregnated with volcanic elements.'

rainfall than Antigua, its mean temperature is about 81° , and its climate has a high reputation for healthiness. Sugar may still be called its chief product, but the limes and lime-juice exports are rapidly increasing. This latter industry is due to the energy of the well-known Birmingham family of Sturge, and its cultivation in Montserrat is specially interesting as the precursor of that attention to minor industries, which has slowly developed in the West Indies, in consequence of the fall in the price of sugar and the abandonment of many estates.

On August 7, 1899, the island was devastated by a fearful hurricane which uprooted nearly all the lime trees, but the cultivation is being rapidly restored. The depression in the sugar industry has induced several of the larger owners to turn their attention to cotton, and favourable results have been obtained both as regards quantity and quality. On the other hand, the cultivation of coffee and cocoa has declined to such an extent that not enough for home consumption is now grown.

Last but not least of the Leeward Islands, for it is at once the largest and has the greatest capabilities, is the beautiful island of Dominica. It lies 25 miles south of Guadeloupe, and 85 miles south-east of Montserrat. It is of oblong shape, more or less pointed at the northern and southern ends. It runs from a little west of north to a little east of south, its length is given at 29 miles, its breadth at 16, and its area at about 291 square miles. It is of volcanic formation, as evidenced by its many sulphur springs, and its mountains are the highest of any in the Caribbean Islands. In the words of an old description it is 'a goodly island and something highland, but all overgrown with woods'. There is a mountainous backbone running from north to south, the highest point being the Morne Diablotin in the northern half of the island, which is said to be over 5,000 feet high²; but the mountains, especially in the south, branch

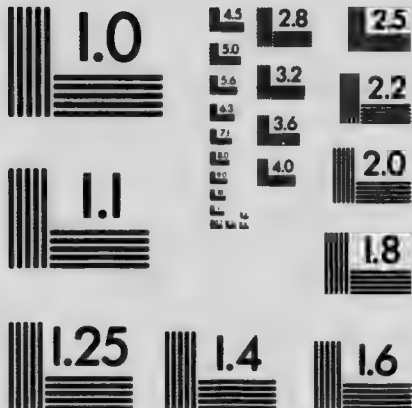
¹ From *The Voyage of Sir Amias Preston and Captain George Summers to the West Indies, 1595* (Hakluyt).

² The height as given on the maps is 4,747.



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off in various directions to the sea, and about the centre of the island there is a break in the system, where the Layou and Pagoua rivers water rather more open country; this break is presumably referred to in the *Rutliers for the West Indies* given in Hakluyt, in which Dominica is spoken of as seeming from a distance to be divided into two¹. Dominica has a rich soil, is well wooded, and very well watered. The high mountains and deep ravines are clothed with rich virgin forest, in which are valuable timber-trees and various kinds of game; and of its many streams and rivers, well stocked with fish, the largest are the Layou, flowing to the west coast, and the Pagoua flowing to the east, nearly opposite to the first-named river. It must have been the plentiful water supply which caused the old voyagers so often to touch at the island, and their notices mention its woods², its hot springs, and its Carib inhabitants, with whom French and English sailors bartered their goods³. On the other hand, the island is deficient in good harbours, and its bold shores have but few deep bays and indentations. The best anchorage is at Prince Rupert's Bay, near the north end of the island and on the western coast; it is called after the daring leader of King Charles's troops, who took to the sea when the Royal cause was lost on land, and visited the West Indies on a privateering cruise in 1652. Roseau, the capital, which has but an open roadstead⁴, is also on the western side of the island, not far from its southern extremity, and at the last census had a population of 5,764.

¹ The following is the description in *The First Rutlier for the West Indies*: 'A certain high land full of hills; and seeing it when thou art far off to the seaward, it maketh in the midst a partition, so that a man would think it divided the island in two parts.'

² In 1596 the Earl of Cumberland touched at Dominica, and found the island too woody to muster his men upon it.

³ e. g. on the last voyage of Drake and Hawkins in 1595, when their men obtained tobacco from the Caribs by barter, the account stating that in the island 'groweth great store of tobacco.'

⁴ For a description of Roseau and of Dominica generally, see Mr. Froude's *English in the West Indies*, which, however, is now much out of date.

The alternation of great heights, accessible on all sides to the sea-breezes, with deep, richly-wooded valleys, gives to Dominica a variety of climate almost equal to that of Jamaica. In low, undrained grounds, such as those around Prince Rupert's Bay, there is much malaria, which has given rise to the impression that the island is specially unhealthy; if, however, its general climate is compared with that of neighbouring colonies, the comparison is by no means disadvantageous to Dominica, while the healthiness of its higher stations is beyond question. The mean annual temperature is about 79° , the average maximum 84° , but at a height of 1,500 feet above the sea the readings are considerably lower. The rainfall is often exceedingly heavy, and varies much according to locality, but the annual average is about 80 inches. The variety of its climate, the richness of its soil, and the abundance of its rainfall, present conditions favourable to the cultivation of nearly all kinds of sub-tropical products. More than two-thirds of the area of the island are still covered with primeval forests, but a considerable extension of agricultural enterprise has taken place during recent years. The fertile lands of the interior have been rendered accessible by a good trunk-road, and the means of internal communication throughout the island have been much improved. The principal exports of Dominica are now cocoa and lime-juice, and efforts are being made to develop a trade with America and the mother-country in oranges and other tropical fruits.

In all the Leeward Islands the fiscal system is very much the same, but each presidency has its separate purse. Duties upon every kind of imported and exported goods, together with an excise duty, only partially collected, upon rum, have hitherto furnished the bulk of the revenue; and the system has been much attacked, as the heaviest import duties fall on the food-stuffs. Export duties, however, have now been replaced by a land-tax in Antigua and St. Kitts-Nevis. In Dominica and Montserrat there is a property-tax levied according to the value of land and house property in towns, and in Dominica

there is also an income-tax and a poll-tax levied in commutation for labour on the roads, the remains of the old French *corvée*.

The revenue, expenditure, and debt of the whole colony for the financial year 1903-4 were as follows:—

	<i>Revenue.</i>	<i>Expenditure.</i>	<i>Public Debt.</i>
Antigua .	£43,812	£50,209	£136,471
St. Kitts-Nevis .	39,127	44,782	62,145
Dominica .	31,443	31,331	56,060
Montserrat .	7,599	9,364	11,100
Virgin Islands .	2,167	2,342	nil.
Total	£124,148	£138,028	£265,776

In addition to the revenue collected from local sources, Imperial grants to the following extent were received by the islands during 1903-4:—Antigua, £5,880; St. Kitts-Nevis, £8,557; Dominica, £1,420; Montserrat, £2,250; Virgin Islands, £547.

In Antigua and in Montserrat it has not yet been found possible to establish an equilibrium between revenue and expenditure, but the finances of St. Kitts-Nevis have at last been placed on a satisfactory footing. The growing prosperity of Dominica has resulted in a steadily increasing revenue, and the financial returns of that presidency show a substantial balance to credit. The Imperial grants to Antigua and to St. Kitts-Nevis were mainly in aid of the sugar industry, while the grant to Dominica was for botanic services under the administration of the Imperial Department of Agriculture.

The gross value of the imports of the whole colony in 1903 was £394,000 and of the exports £329,000. The imports from the United Kingdom comprise chiefly cotton, woollen, and linen goods, haberdashery, and hardware, and the trade is about equal in value to that done with the United States in lumber, foodstuffs, and other provisions. The imports from Canada are increasing to a notable extent. In 1903 the exports to the United Kingdom

and to the United States amounted, in each case, to about £60,000, while the value of the output to Canada has risen, in five years, from £37,000 to £139,000.

The following figures show the variations and trend of the Colony's trade during the last fifteen years, and the recent divergence of the sugar exports towards Canada, due chiefly to the preferential treatment accorded by the Dominion, is of much interest.

Value of exports from Leeward Islands to—

	<i>Great Britain.</i>	<i>United States.</i>	<i>Canada.</i>
1878 . .	£383,000	£100,000	£21,000
1888 . .	60,000	378,000	37,000
1903 . .	60,000	60,000	139,000

Value of Imports into Leeward Islands from—

	<i>Great Britain.</i>	<i>United States.</i>	<i>Canada.</i>
1878 . .	£188,000	£120,000	£25,000
1888 . .	184,000	147,000	15,000
1903 . .	168,000	150,000	27,000

Of the exported produce of the Leeward Islands the bulk is sugar and molasses, chiefly from St. Kitts-Nevis and Antigua; and among other articles of export are fruits and lime-juice credited to Dominica and Montserrat, and coffee and cocoa credited solely to Dominica.

There is a considerable interchange of commodities by way of Barbados, which acts as an *entrepôt* for these islands, and Dominica does some business with Martinique. There is said to be a good deal of smuggling between St. Kitts and the Dutch islands; and the whole life of the Virgin islanders has been described as a struggle to evade the payment of import and export duties.

The population of the Leeward Islands has been almost stationary for many years. At the last census (1901) it numbered 127,434 souls, distributed as follows:—

Antigua	34,178
St. Kitts	29,782
Nevis	12,774
Barbuda	775
Anguilla	3,890
Redonda	18
Dominica	28,894
Montserrat	12,215
Virgin Islands	4,908
Total	127,434

Of the total a very small proportion are whites, being found mainly in Antigua and St. Kitts-Nevis. The majority are the descendants of African slaves. In Dominica there is still found a surviving remnant of the natives who peopled all these islands at the time of their discovery by Columbus. These Caribs number about 400, of whom, however, barely one-third are of pure descent. A reserve of some 3,000 acres has been secured to them on the north-east coast of Dominica, and they are practically exempted from taxation. Their method of life now differs but little from that of the negroes, and only faint traces remain of their original language. From an anthropological point of view these Caribs are of much interest, and those of pure breed are remarkable for their intelligence and handsome features. They have long straight black hair, olive complexions, oblique eyes, and high cheek bones, and their similarity to the Mongolian type is very striking.

The Virgin islanders are remarkable amongst the West Indians, but their ethnology has not been fully investigated. The same race is found in Anguilla, which lies nearer to St. Kitts, but it disappears in the more settled islands. It would seem, from their general characteristics, that they are by origin an admixture of the Carib and Spaniard, which has held its ground in these remoter islands, and they show but little traces of negro blood. Men and women alike are tall and well made, and their olive colour, shapely features, dark eyes, and smooth black hair, bear striking evidence of Spanish ancestry.

Education in the Leeward Islands is under the management of the Federal Government, but it is still backward in all parts of the colony. The schools are mostly denominational, receiving annual grants in aid. In Dominica there are twenty-two Government schools, but they have not been found so efficient as schools belonging to religious bodies. School fees are charged, but they are almost nominal, so that the education given is practically free. There are in Antigua, St. Kitts, and Dominica grammar schools subsidized by the government, and in Dominica there is a good Roman Catholic school for girls. In Dominica English education meets with a special difficulty, for a century and a quarter of British occupation has not removed the traces of the French settlement, and the ordinary language of the peasants is a patois more or less French¹.

The Leeward Islands form a diocese of the Church of England, the adherents of which are strongest in Antigua and St. Kitts-Nevis. The state aid to the Church is dying out as vacancies occur amongst the incumbents. In Montserrat the majority of the population, and in Dominica almost the whole, belong to the Roman Catholic Church, and there is a Bishop of that Church resident at Roseau. No state aid of any kind is given to any denomination in Montserrat or Dominica. In the Virgin Islands the Wesleyans are by far the most numerous sect, there being only a single representative of the Church of England in the islands. The Moravians are a strong body in parts of the colony, having come to Antigua in the early part of the eighteenth century².

The Leeward Islands colony contains in St. Kitts the birth-place of British and French colonization in the West Indies. Antigua has, next to Barbados, the most purely English traditions of any island. Dominica, loveliest of all the West Indies, has also a historical interest, as being the scene of Rodney's sea-

¹ A compulsory Education Act for the Leeward Islands is now in force.

² See above, p. 151, and note.

fight, and as preserving in its forests a remnant of the old Carib race. In the distant Virgin archipelago British and Danish dependencies are side by side; at the other end of the colony Dominica is still French in many of its features, and is a near neighbour of French islands. The federation is interesting as having its seeds in the distant past, and the influence of geography on history is well illustrated by the manner in which the majority of these islands have been constantly grouped together, and yet have each retained a detached existence of its own.

BOOKS, ETC., RELATING TO THE LEEWARD ISLANDS.

There are some few books especially dealing with these islands, such as *Antigua and the Antiguans* (1844), a discursive mixture of fact and anecdote, but the best accounts of them are given in books relating to the West Indies generally.

The *History of the Island of Antigua*, by V. L. Oliver, 3 vols. (1894-9), should be consulted.

CHAPTER V

BARBADOS

BARBADOS is said to have been so called after the bearded fig-trees found on the island by its first discoverers. The Portuguese are reputed to have discovered it early in the sixteenth century; and, lying as the island does, outside and to the east of all the West Indies, it may well have been visited by them on their voyages to and from Brazil. They left no traces, however, of their visits beyond the name and a stock of pigs¹; and, though the Spaniards are said to have carried off the native inhabitants to slavery in their mines, Barbados has no history before the English landed there, finding the island, in Burke's words², 'the most savage and destitute that can well be imagined,' and without 'the least appearance of ever having been peopled, even by savages.'

In 1605 the 'Olive Blossom' was fitted out by Sir Olave Leigh, 'a worshipful Knight of Kent,' with stores and settlers for his brother's colony in Guiana. The ship touched at Barbados, and the sailors, finding the island unoccupied, set up a cross near the spot, which was afterwards the site of the town, now Holetown, was afterwards built, and left the ship's name as a memorial. The ship's name was 'James, K. of E. and of this island.' In this wise Barbados was first claimed as British territory. No settlement, however, was made at the time or for some twenty years afterwards, till good reports of the island attracted the attention of a rich London merchant, Sir William Courten.

Courten, the founder of the British colony of Barbados, was

¹ Compare the case of the Bermudas, above, p. 6, and of Mauritius, vol. i. of this work, p. 163.

² From the *European Settlements in America*. (Pt. VI. chap. v.)

of Dutch or Flemish extraction. His father, a Protestant in religion, a tailor by trade, had emigrated to England from the Netherlands, in the days of Spanish tyranny. He prospered in London as a silk and linen merchant, and, when he died, his two sons and son-in-law entered into partnership in the same line of business, William Courten remaining in London, while his brother Peter was the agent for the firm at the Dutch town of Middleburgh. A rich trader, with a Dutch connexion and therefore a hereditary enmity to Spain, Courten was eminently fitted to initiate and carry out schemes of colonization in the West Indian seas, and the man, who in or about 1625 prayed the King of England for a grant of the lands in the south part of the world called 'Terra Australis Incognita',¹ as not yet traded to by the king's subjects, was clearly gifted with boldness and enterprise, ready to risk some of his large fortune as a pioneer of British trade and settlement. He heard of Barbados from his Dutch correspondents, and, in 1624, one of his own ships returning from Brazil was driven by stress of weather to touch at its shores. So bright were the accounts which he received, that he determined to send out settlers; and at the end of 1624 or the beginning of 1625², his ship the 'William and John,' commanded by Captain Henry Powell, arrived at the island with some forty emigrants on board, one of whom was the son of John Winthrop, afterwards

¹ See the *Calendar of State Papers* under the year 1625 for an abstract of this petition of Courten's.

² The usually received date is given, because King James the First died in March, 1625, and the fact of the settlement having been called Jamestown, as well as of the colonists at a later date (in a petition dated the thirteenth of September, 1685) having stated that the island 'had its first beginning to be settled' under King James the First, points to the first settlers having gone out before his death. On the other hand, Mr. Darnell Davis, in his very exhaustive book *Cavaliers and Roundheads in Barbados*, p. 28 note, states that 'a careful collation of manuscripts has made it clear that the first settlement of Barbados was not made until February, 1627.' 1627 is also the date given in *The Narrative*, edited by Captain John Smith (1629), and in the *History of the Caribby Islands* (1666); and in a document relating to the claim of Sir W. Courten's son to the island (of which an abstract is given in the *Calendar of State Papers* under the year 1660), 1626 and 1627 are given as the first years of settlement.

Governor of Massachusetts. The colonists established themselves near where the men of the 'Olive Blossom' had landed; and, in calling their little settlement Jamestown, they seem to have marked the fact that the colonization of Barbados dates from the reign of James the First.

The early history of Barbados is not complicated by the claims of rival nations, for the settlement was purely English from the first; but on the other hand it is strangely complicated by the claims of rival Englishmen. The island was included in the commission given by Charles the First to Warner, the colonizer of St. Kitts, to which reference has been already made¹. This commission was dated the thirteenth of September, 1625, Warner's patron and supporter being the Earl of Carlisle. Before this date, however, James Ley, Earl of Marlborough, Lord High Treasurer of England, had obtained the promise of a patent from James the First, which covered Barbados²; and it was under his protection that Courten's scheme of colonization was carried on. On July the second, 1627, Lord Carlisle obtained from Charles the First his celebrated grant of the Caribbean Islands. The grant was entitled 'the first grant' of the islands named in it, and it included among others all the West Indian islands at present belonging to Great Britain, with the exception of Jamaica, Trinidad, Tobago, and possibly some of the Virgin Islands. To mark the extent and importance of the grant, it was specified that the islands included should thereafter be named Carlisle or the islands of the Carlisle province, and the province of Carlisle or Carliola is to be found mentioned in subsequent official documents.

It would seem, however, that this was not the first patent of these islands granted to the Earl of Carlisle, but that he had already obtained a similar one from James the First, and that the grant of 1627 followed upon a settlement of the prior and conflicting claims of the Earl of Marlborough. At any rate it is certain that, upon Lord Carlisle undertaking to pay £300 per

¹ See above, p. 138.

² See above, p. 43.

annum to the Earl of Marlborough and his heirs, the latter waived his claim to the Caribbean Islands and left Lord Carlisle master of the field.

A new competitor for Barbados started up almost immediately. Early in 1628 Philip Herbert, Earl of Montgomery and subsequently Earl of Pembroke, who was then Lord Chamberlain, prevailed upon the king to grant to him certain islands between 8 and 13 degrees of north latitude called 'Trinidado, Tabago, Barbudos, and Fonseca.' The island was thus again claimed by two rival grantees, who backed two rival bands of settlers in it. It is difficult to ascertain the exact merits of the respective claims, but it would seem that the difficulty arose from a confusion between Barbuda and Barbados, and that Lord Montgomery contended that Barbados was not one of the Caribbean Islands, and therefore was not properly included in the Carlisle grant. At any rate, the points at issue were in 1629 referred to the Lord Keeper Coventry, who advised the king that, though Barbados was not in his opinion one of the Caribbean Islands, 'seamen of great note having testified the impossibility of any resort thither by the Caribbees,' he was on the other hand of opinion that the proof on Lord Carlisle's part that Barbados was intended to be included in his patent, was very strong. Lord Montgomery's claims to the island were accordingly disallowed, and from 1629 Lord Carlisle was recognized as the sole proprietor, enjoying the same powers as the Bishop of Durham in his County Palatine, but holding his property subject to the annuity to the Earl of Marlborough and his heirs.

As extravagant as he was enterprising, Lord Carlisle¹ died deeply in debt in 1636, owing among other items several years of the Marlborough annuity. He left the Caribbee Islands in trust for payments of his debts, with remainder to

¹ Clarendon (*History of the Rebellion*, Bk. I) says of Lord Carlisle, 'After having spent in a very jovial life above four hundred thousand pounds, which upon a strict computation he received from the Crown, he left not a house nor acre of land to be remembered by.'

his son and heir. In 1647, the latter transferred his rights to Francis, Lord Willoughby of Parham, for twenty-one years, reserving half the profits for himself and for his father's creditors, to whom he definitely assigned his interest during the term of the lease on the thirtieth of December, 1649. On arriving in Barbados, Lord Willoughby procured the passing of an Act, in October, 1650, which acknowledged the king's right to the dominion of the island, the rights of Lord Carlisle as derived from the king, and the rights of himself as derived from Lord Carlisle. Shortly afterwards, at the beginning of 1652, Barbados submitted to the authority of the Commonwealth, and he was compelled to relinquish his government, although it was provided that his private interests in the island should remain intact¹.

Thus for some years Royal and private claims alike over Barbados were left in abeyance, and when, upon the restoration of the Stuarts, the various parties who were interested in the island began to agitate for a revival of their rights, the Barbadians were ill-disposed to revert to proprietary rule, which, however well suited to early days of settlement, could only be an irritating incubus on a large and thriving community. Consequently when Lord Willoughby on the one hand, and unpaid creditors and annuitants on the other, set forth their case in 1661, the planters of Barbados boldly contested the legality of Lord Carlisle's patent, and petitioned to be taken into immediate dependence on the Crown; and their representatives in England hoping to sweeten their cause with the king, held out unauthorized hopes that a permanent revenue would be paid to the Crown in the event of the island being taken directly under the Royal authority.

The various points at issue were submitted to a committee of the Privy Council; and, on the thirteenth of June, 1663, the

¹ The words in the article of surrender, dated the eleventh of January, 1652, are as follows: 'That what state soever of right doth belong unto the said Lord Willoughby of Parham in this island of Barbados be to him entirely preserved.'

king in council decided that 'the annual profits arising from the planters and inhabitants of the Caribbee Islands, and payable to the Crown,' should be divided into two parts; one half to go to Lord Willoughby¹ during the remainder of his lease and afterwards to the support of the Government, the other half to be applied firstly to the full discharge of the Marlborough claim, secondly to the payment of £500 per annum to William Hay, Earl of Kinnoul, the heir of the Carlises, until the Carlisle creditors should be fully satisfied, thirdly to the payment of those creditors. Upon the discharge of all liabilities, the Earl of Kinnoul and his heirs for ever were to receive out of this second moiety £1,000 per annum, while the remainder was to revert to the Crown. On these conditions, according at least to the view taken by the king and his advisers, the proprietary rights in the island were to be finally extinguished, a permanent revenue was to be secured to the Crown, and the planters were to be recognized as freeholders instead of tenants-at-will.

Armed with instructions to the above effect, Lord Willoughby was sent out immediately to his government; and on the twelfth of September, 1663, about a month after his arrival at Barbados, in spite of strong local opposition, an Act was passed 'for settling an impost on the commodities of the growth of this island,' which provided that 'upon all dead commodities of the growth or produce of this island, that shall be shipped off the same, shall be paid to our Sovereign Lord the King, his heirs and successors for ever, four and a half in specie for every five score.'

This export duty of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. was the heavy price which Barbados paid for getting rid of proprietary claims. It was roundly declared to be odious and grievous to the colonists, and

¹ The patent granting Lord Willoughby his moiety of the revenue of the Caribbee Islands for seven years (the unexpired part of his lease) was dated the eighteenth of November, 1662, i.e. about seven months previous to the final decision detailed above.

as having been extorted from them full sore against their wills¹. It was levied not only on Barbados, but also on the Leeward Islands as being included in the Carlisle grant, and it weighted the trade of these colonies for 175 years. At length, in 1832, after generations of remonstrance, the agents² of the colonies concerned, viz. Barbados, Antigua, St. Kitts, Nevis, Montserrat, and the Virgin Islands, petitioned the Secretary of State on the subject, and their petition was duly laid before Parliament. They pointed out that 'a sum exceeding six millions, being three times more than the fee simple value of the lands,' had been raised by means of the tax, of which however three millions only had reached the Imperial Exchequer, and that it placed the older West Indian colonies at a disadvantage, compared with the newer acquisitions of Great Britain in those seas, which had escaped the impost³. Two years later, in 1834, the Legislature of Barbados unanimously passed an Act repealing the tax; and, in sending it home for assent, they pointed out that the money raised by the duty had in the main been applied to other purposes than those which had been intended, viz. the defraying of the public expenses of the island. It was a time when slave emancipation was being painfully carried, and English ministers were not likely to insist on measures which irritated and pressed hardly on the West Indian colonies at a critical point of their history; so on the fourteenth of August, 1838, an Act was at length passed by the Imperial Parliament, which finally repealed the duty and removed a real and long-standing grievance.

¹ See a pamphlet published in 1689, and entitled *The Groans of the Plantations*.

² Salaried agents for the colony in England were appointed by a local Act as early as 1691.

³ An attempt was made to levy the tax on the islands ceded to Great Britain by the peace of Paris in 1763, i.e. Dominica, St. Vincent, Grenada, and Tobago. Grenada was made the test case, and in 1774 the English law courts decided against the Letters Patent by which the Crown ten years before had asserted its right to levy the tax on that island. It was accordingly given up in the other three islands as well. See Bryan Edwards, Bk. III, chap. ii.

While the ownership of Barbados was still in dispute, Courten, as has been seen, had begun to colonize it. Patronized at first by the Earl of Marlborough, he subsequently secured the protection of Lord Montgomery, who, in obtaining a grant of the island, really obtained it in trust for Courten; and Courten therefore came into conflict with the rights and claims of Lord Carlisle. The latter accordingly determined to make good those rights by acting upon them, and offered grants of land in Barbados to private adventurers. His policy proved successful, for a lease of 10,000 acres was taken up by nine London merchants, and they sent out some sixty-four settlers under a Bermudian named Wolferstone or Wolverton, who was one of the two sources of information from whom John Smith derived his account of Barbados. Wolferstone held a commission from Lord Carlisle himself, and, on the fifth of July, 1628, he and his party landed on the shores of Carlisle Bay, on the site of Bridgetown, the present capital of the island. Bridgetown is considered to be to windward of Jamestown, hence the new settlers were known as the Windward men, the older colonists as the Leeward men. The official name of the Windward settlement was St. Michael's Town, but it was commonly known as the Bridge, or the Indian Bridge, 'for that a long bridge was made at first over a little nook of the sea, which was rather a bog than sea¹.' Similarly the Leeward settlement of Jamestown was popularly called, after the bay on which it was situated, the settlement at the Hole, and in either case the popular name lasted, while the official name died out.

The older Leeward settlement at the Hole promised well, and the settlers were little inclined to submit to Wolferstone's and Lord Carlisle's authority. Thus for more than a year there were two opposite camps in the island, with rival governors, at times at open warfare with each other; and it was not till the end of 1629 that the Leeward men were

¹ From Ligon's *True and Exact History of the Island of Barbados*.

overpowered, Lord Carlisle's authority fully recognized, and Courten's and Lord Montgomery's interest in the island finally swept away.

At this date the estimated population of Barbados was between 1,500 and 1,600. In 1636, the island was said to contain about 6,000 English, and in that year the slave system was formally legalized by a local Act prescribing that negroes and Indians brought to Barbados for sale should serve for life, unless a previous contract had been made to the contrary.

The beginnings of Barbados were not unlike those of a Greek colony. Its colonization owed little to the direct encouragement of the state; the reputed fertility of the island, coupled with political difficulties at home, brought settlers to its shores; and the spirit of faction was rife during the early days of settlement. After a few years the colony grew with astonishing rapidity in wealth and population; and so sturdy was the spirit of the colonists that, in 1653, the Governor complained of the restless spirits, who were prepared to cut themselves adrift from the mother-country, and model 'this little limb of the Commonwealth into a free state.'

Up to 1640 it was hampered by want of good administrators. As one of the Caribbee Islands it was at first subject to the authority of Sir Thomas Warner, the Governor-in-Chief, whose seat of government was at St. Kitts, and who did not die till 1648. Of its own governors, Wolferstone was succeeded at the end of 1629 by Sir William Tuston, and in the following year Colonel Hawley was commissioned to supersede Tuston. The intrigues between these two men ended in Hawley having his rival tried and shot for high treason in 1631; and for some years subsequently he managed to retain the government of the island in his own hands, setting at nought the authority of Sir Thomas Warner, disputing the proprietary rights of Lord Carlisle, and refusing to recognize another governor sent out to take his place. At length, in 1641, Barbados secured a good governor in Captain Philip Bell. He had had experience

in managing young colonies as Governor of the Bermudas and of the settlement at Old Providence; and under his judicious administration, which lasted till Lord Willoughby's arrival in 1650, Barbados made rapid progress. The former governors had been assisted by a Council, the members of which were chosen by themselves; and Hawley, in his anxiety to support himself against the authorities at home, in 1639 summoned some kind of parliament, which gave to his governorship the semblance of popular election. Bell, however, was the man who really introduced constitutional government into Barbados by dividing the island into eleven parishes, each of which elected two representatives to the General Assembly¹. The exact date at which the first popular Assembly was actually summoned does not seem to be recorded, but the principle of self-government was early and deeply rooted in the minds of the colonists, for the Articles of Surrender, dated the eleventh of January, 1652², contained a provision to the effect that 'the government of this island be by a Governor, Council, and Assembly, according to the ancient and usual custom here.'

Other circumstances combined with the selection of a good governor and the gift of representative institutions to promote the prosperity of the island. Prior to Cromwell's time Barbados enjoyed to the full the advantages which come from free trade, and especially benefited by unrestricted intercourse with the Dutch. To Courten's connexion with the Netherlands, and his ventures in trade and privateering to Brazil, was due the first settlement of the island; and this same connexion, coupled with the position of Barbados, kept the colonists in touch with the Netherlands, as their great West India Company sent ship after ship³ to follow up their enterprise against the Portuguese in Brazil, or to develop from the island station of Curaçao their traffic with

¹ Down to the year 1663, the twenty-two popular representatives sat with the Council to form the General Assembly. After that date the Council and Assembly sat separately.

² See below, p. 185.

³ See above, p. 52.

the Spanish main. Thus the carrying trade of Barbados was managed by the most business-like people of the age, and the negroes, who were brought from the west coast of Africa to work in the sugar plantations, were imported in Dutch ships. At the very outset of the colony, Captain Powell, who had charge of the little band of settlers, had brought in sugar canes among other plants from a Dutch colony on the Essequibo¹, but down to 1640 there was practically no sugar cultivation, and tobacco of an inferior quality, with cotton and ginger, represented the staple commodities of Barbados. It was between 1640 and 1645 that sugar making became a recognized industry; it came from Brazil², and its introduction, as well as its subsequent development, was due to the Dutch.

While a foreign nation was thus helping to build up the trade of the island, the mother-country was adding to its population. The Long Parliament met in November, 1640, and quiet men in England, who were beginning to look about for less troubled homes than their own land, turned their attention to Barbados. For Barbados, though it was cradled in faction, and though its growth was the result of an era of political and social restlessness, was not peopled by men like the New England Puritans, who exiled themselves for conscience sake, but rather by the class who feared for their fortunes at home, and who saw a prospect of bettering them in the fertile island of which they had heard so much. In Clarendon's words it 'was principally inhabited by men who had retired thither only to be quiet and to be free from the noise and oppressions in England, and without any ill thoughts towards the King³.' Accordingly the leading colonists were mainly men of substance and family, with Royalist tendencies, and born and bred in the Church of England. In 1643, according to subsequent official reports, there were in the island 18,600 effective men, English inhabitants, of whom 8,300 were proprietors, owning not more than 6,400

¹ See below, p. 271, note 2.

² See above, pp. 41, 61.

³ *History of the Rebellion*, Book XIII.

negroes. About 1646, says the *History of the Caribby Islands*, they accounted in it about 20,000 inhabitants exclusive of slaves; and in 1656 there were said to be at least 25,000 Christians in the island. So rapid was the growth of this wonderful little colony, well called a few years later¹ a fair jewel of His Majesty's Crown.

If there had been no statistics of population given, the events of 1650-1651 would yet have been enough by themselves to show the strength and importance of Barbados. Though the settlement was only a quarter of a century old, Barbados was the only one of the Royalist colonies which gave any serious trouble to the Government of the Commonwealth. It has been seen² that the Act of the third of October, 1650, proscribed the trade of Virginia, the Bermudas, Antigua, and Barbados, as a punishment for their adherence to a fallen cause; but even 'the Virginian Royalists yielded at once without a blow struck'.³ It was otherwise with the Barbadians. Quiet men as they were reputed to be, they were most of them attached to the Crown and to the Church of England, many had fought and suffered for the king, and the news of his execution in 1649, coupled with the abolition of the old constitution in Church and State, was bitter to the large majority of the planters. Devonshire men were, as usual, to the front in the persons of the brothers Walrond; the arrival of an emissary from the Bermudas, with proposals for an alliance in defence of the Royalist cause, acted as a stimulus; and political differences grew too strong alike for neighbourly feeling and for the authority of the Governor.

On the third of May, 1650, Charles the Second was proclaimed king, and in the same proclamation the Book of Common Prayer, which had been forbidden in Great Britain, was declared to be the only pattern of true worship in Barbados. The proclamation was followed by persecution of the leading adherents

¹ In 1666. See the *Calendar of State Papers*.

² See above, pp. 14, 144.

³ From Doyle's *History of the English in America*, vol. i. p. 294.

of the parliamentary party, and, condemned to fine and banishment, some of them left for England, carrying their grievances to a Government ready to listen and well able to redress.

Meanwhile Lord Willoughby of Parham had arrived in the island. He came as the legal representative¹ of its proprietor, and bringing a commission as governor, signed in exile by Charles the Second. He was sent out as the man best qualified to serve the king's cause in the West Indies, and he deserved well alike of his master and of those whom he was sent to rule. No mere hot-headed Royalist, but a good soldier, and an active, capable, and experienced man, he governed with moderation, held out as long as resistance was of practical value, and, having made good terms alike for Barbados and for himself, he left, to resume his government when the king enjoyed his own again. He landed a few days after Charles had been proclaimed, but his arrival was not wholly welcome to the extreme members of the Royalist party, who remembered that he had once borne arms for the Parliament, and accordingly he put off his assumption of the government for three months. During that time he visited Antigua², as being part of his domain, and braced up the spirits of the Royalists in the Leeward Islands. As soon as he became governor he set himself to conciliate moderate men, and sent an agent to England to conciliate, if possible, Parliament also. But events had gone too far. The men in power in England were not likely to brook open rebellion; exiled Barbadians were on the spot to tell their tale of grievance; and, no doubt, in Cromwell's mind, the reduction of Barbados, supplied as it had been by the Dutch, was connected with his favourite scheme of breaking the carrying trade of the Netherlands. Accordingly Sir George Ayscue was sent with a fleet to bring the stiff-necked colony to obedience, and arrived at Barbados in October, 1651. He found his task no easy one. The news, which had reached the island early in the year, that the colonists had been proclaimed as rebels, had only further

¹ See above, pp. 144, 175.

² See above, p. 144.

roused the spirit of defiance. To the prohibition of trade with the colony Lord Willoughby replied on the eighteenth of February, 1651, with a declaration, laying down boldly and broadly the principles of colonial self-government. In it the colonists denied in so many words that they were bound by the Government of a Parliament, in which they were not represented, and refused to forbid the freedom of their harbours to the *Netherlanders*¹, to whom the island owed so much, or to any other nation. This colonial Declaration of Rights was followed by an abandonment of the former policy of conciliation. The estates of the leading Parliamentarians were sequestered, and every nerve was strained to fortify the colony and raise forces for its defence. For some months Ayscue beat about the island, trying in vain to bring its defenders to terms, successful in keeping up a blockade, but unable, as the Royalists outnumbered his own men, to gain a footing on the land. The Barbadians were encouraged by the news that Charles the Second had crossed the Scotch border and was marching for London, and they hoped that Prince Rupert and his fleet would soon come to their relief. At length in December, having been reinforced by the Virginia merchant fleet, Ayscue made some slight impression by storming and razing a fort at Speightstown, towards the northern end of the west coast, and this success, though it led to no immediate result, combined with the news already received of the battle of Worcester and the defeat and flight of Charles, to incline the Barbadians to terms.

All through this time of trouble and faction, Colonel Thomas Modyford, afterwards Governor of both Barbados and Jamaica, appears to have been the leading spirit of the moderate party. He is said to have been related to General Monk, and certainly

¹ The words are interesting as showing the importance of the Dutch trade to Barbados. They run, 'All the ancient inhabitants know very well how greatly they have been obliged to those of the Low Countries for their subsistence, and how difficult it would have been for us, without their assistance, ever to have inhabited these places or to have brought them into order.'

played a somewhat similar part in Barbados to that which Monk played on a larger scale in the mother-country. Monk was a Parliamentary general who brought about the Restoration in England, Modyford was a Royalist officer who established the authority of the Commonwealth in Barbados. They were both men of too strong will and too good common sense to be blindly led by party, and they did the right thing at the right moment for the community at large.

Modyford treated with Ayscue and the Parliamentary Commissioners who were on board his ships; he suggested a motion for a treaty in the island Assembly; and, when the motion was defeated, he took decisive action to put a stop to a warfare which could lead to no useful result. On the third of January, 1652, he induced his regiment, 1,000 strong, to declare for peace and the Commonwealth; and from that moment the issue of the struggle was no longer in doubt. For two or three days the two armies faced each other, but at the end of that time moderate counsels prevailed, and on the eleventh of January, 1652, articles of capitulation were signed (ratified on the seventeenth), which were well headed the Charter of Barbados or Articles of Agreement, for they left the Barbadians, with the exception of a few hot-headed individuals, in full possession of all their rights and liberties, and placed on record those rights for the safeguard of coming generations.

There are two main points to be noticed in connexion with the war in Barbados. The first is that it was so thoroughly English in its character, in the degree to which partisanship was tempered by common sense. The Royalists made the best resistance they could, and, when resistance was becoming impracticable and unwise, they accepted the inevitable, and made good terms for their island and themselves. The besiegers, on the other hand, showed no disposition to push matters to extremes, and gave their opponents the most liberal conditions. At the outset of the struggle Lord Willoughby himself, while holding the island for the king, had attempted to obtain recog-

dition from the Parliament; at its close Modyford, in turning the balance against the Royalist cause, was simply the representative of a large number of men, ready to subordinate sentiment to common sense, and to accept a workable compromise. The Barbadians were quiet men, who had come away from their mother-country to avoid turmoil and strife; they had become partisans by the force of circumstances, but they were not likely to wish to perpetuate war in their place of refuge or to see their plantations ruined, their fortunes broken, and their lives endangered for the sake of king or parliament. So, having made their protest against the revolution, and backed that protest by arms, they readily settled down to the peaceful life of a British colony.

The second point to notice is the extent to which the question of the relations of the colony to the mother-country was mixed up with that of Crown against Parliament. It did not matter, except sentimentally, to the Barbadians whether their distant sovereign was to be one or many, but it did matter whether or not they were to be seriously interfered with in the home of their own choosing. It was the prohibition of trade with the island, by command of the Imperial Parliament, which put life into the resistance of the colonists, and the declaration, which was issued in answer to it, scouted the idea that Englishmen who had gone out to Barbados should 'be subjected to the will and command of those that stay at home,' or to a Parliament in which they had no spokesman. In like manner the Articles of Agreement, with which the conflict ended, said little about the Commonwealth but much about local liberties; they provided for freedom of person, property, trade, and religion, and they laid down that the colonists should only be taxed with the consent of their own Assembly; and, if further evidence were wanted to show that the fight was in the main an outbreak of local patriotism impatient of Imperial control, it might be found in the complaint made in 1653, to which allusion has been already made¹, that there were

¹ See above, p. 179.

some in Barbados who would model it into a free state, and in a proposal made by Modyford in 1652, that the Barbadians should send two representatives to sit in the English Parliament. In other words, it would seem that, even after the struggle was over, there were leading men in this sturdy little colony, whose minds were running on thoughts of complete independence and its modern alternative, Imperial Federation.

The restoration of Charles the Second brought back Lord Willoughby in 1663. In 1666 he set sail for the Leeward Islands, then hard beset by French and Dutch, and ended his adventurous life in a hurricane at sea. His brother William was appointed his successor in the following year, and governed with a short break till 1673. Like his brother, he appears to have been a strong, capable man; he left behind him a reputation for uprightness and vigour; and, whatever may have been their merits or demerits, Barbados had in the two Willoughbys governors who were true Englishmen, fit to rule a truly English colony. In 1671 the division of the Caribbean Islands took place, and Barbados became the centre of government for the Windward Islands, including Dominica.

The period from about 1640 to about 1676 was the time when Barbados stood out most pre-eminently above other West Indian colonies. It did not at first form, like St. Kitts, the centre of a little circle of colonization¹, but, after its own soil had become well peopled and its own resources developed, it rose speedily to be, what it was called in 1663, the metropolis of the other islands. It was the metropolis in its true sense, not merely the seat of government for the Caribbean Islands, but the mother-colony, which sent forth a perpetual stream of settlers, and furnished a constant supply of soldiers to further British interests in, and even beyond, the West Indies. In 1655, when the colony had only been in existence for thirty years, it raised 3,500 volunteers for the expedition which took Jamaica, and the emigrants from the island between the years 1643 and

¹ See above, p. 48.

1667 were numbered at, at least, 12,000 good men, who went off to fight or to settle in Jamaica, Tobago, St. Lucia, Trinidad, and other islands, to the south in Surinam, and to the north in Carolina¹, Virginia, and New England. Burke mentions the year 1676 as the meridian of the settlement, and, with other writers, he speaks of the island as having then contained some 50,000 whites and 100,000 negro slaves². Large, however, as the population undoubtedly was, these figures are far beyond the mark, for the statistics furnished by the President and Council of Barbados in 1673 give the number of white inhabitants as 21,309, of whom about half were English, the rest being Scotch, Irish, French, Dutch, and Jews, and the number of negroes as 33,184, although the latter figures were considered to be too low by at least one-third, owing to the tax on negroes, which caused their masters to understate the facts.

Of the elements which made up the population, it is certain that the black rapidly gained on the white, the negroes in 1668 being estimated by the governor at 40,000 out of 60,000, or two-thirds of the whole population; and, after the close of the Civil War, the European section of the community was in large measure recruited by bondservants from the British Isles. For transportation to Barbados was a favourite mode of disposing of English, Scotch, and Irish malcontents, and rebellion against Cromwell, or later against James the Second, was expiated by the terrible punishment of bondage in the sugar plantations³. The Irish, of whom in 1667 there was said to be 2,000 in the island, were in Barbados, as in other colonies, a source of anxiety and danger. The Scotch, shipped out in great measure after the battle of Worcester, proved better bargains, for they were spoken of in 1670 as having been the chief instruments in bringing the colony to its perfection.

¹ For the part which Barbados played in the colonization of South Carolina, see Doyle's *History of the English in America*, vol. i. chap. 12.

² See above, p. 66 and note.

³ See above, p. 46 and note.

In spite, however, of the rapid growth of Barbados, possibly in consequence of it, the signs of the times were not all favourable. Free trade, free settlement, natural fertility, and the absence of competitors, had made the island grow to greatness; but, after the time of the Civil War, the trade was hampered by duties, by Navigation Acts, and by companies with exclusive privileges, like the Royal African Company, whose monopoly raised the price of African labour; the land was taken up and no longer open to all who would come from England; the soil was beginning to show signs of exhaustion, and was becoming more and more tied to the single industry of sugar, to the exclusion of such products as cotton, ginger, indigo, and tobacco; and the Barbadians had to compete in the markets of Europe with the newly acquired colony of Jamaica, not to speak of the islands owned by foreign nations. The constant stream of emigration from the colony was not wholly due to the density of the population, but also to the imposts on trade, so that some preferred to live in greater commercial freedom in French or Dutch islands. Those again who went to other British colonies were often men of substance; their place was ill taken by white servants or negro slaves; and their departure reduced the number of proprietors, and left the land in fewer hands. In 1667 monopoly of land was spoken of as a source of weakness, and the number of considerable proprietors was stated to be not more than 760, as against 8,300 landholders in 1643. The constantly growing proportion of negroes was a source of trouble, which the first colonists had not known; in 1668 when as already stated they numbered two-thirds of the population, the governor wrote of the greater danger, which might be apprehended, now that the black race had taken root and a 'Creolian generation' was springing up in the island; and in 1675 or 1676 his apprehensions were justified by the discovery of a dangerous conspiracy.

Yet, at the same time, the supply of labour was not always equal to the demand; the colonists, about 1668, complained

of want of servants, white and black¹; and their importation of African negroes was no longer free and unrestricted, as it had been before Cromwell broke down the Dutch carrying trade.

Lastly, the colony had, like others, to suffer from the class of evils which must be expected from time to time, but which cause distress in proportion to the size and prosperity of the community which is visited. In 1647, an epidemic scourged the West Indies to such an extent that between five and six thousand are said to have died in St. Kitts and Barbados alone, and in the latter island, according to Ligon, the living were hardly able to bury the dead. In 1663 a plague of caterpillars, compared to the locusts in Egypt, destroyed the crops, and the poor had to depend for food on supplies imported from New England. In April, 1668, a great fire laid waste the capital of St. Michael's or Bridgetown; and in 1675 a terrible hurricane ravaged the island, the worst since the colony had been founded.

The history of Barbados, from the time when the colonists came to terms with Ayscue, contains on the whole little of more than local interest. The fact, which is justly a source of pride to Barbadians, that through all the long years of war between Great Britain and her European rivals, the island was never for a day subject to foreign rule, is at the same time a source of historical sameness. There would have been more light and shade in the story of the colony, if De Ruyter's attack in 1665 had not been promptly beaten off, or if Barbados had been added to the long list of losses which preceded the peace of Versailles in 1783. Yet the record contains something more than the dealings of the Assembly with popular or unpopular governors, complaints of taxation, negro insurrections, fires, epidemics, and hurricanes. Time after time the Barbadians showed that they had more than local patriotism,

¹ The *Calendar of State Papers* contains an abstract of a petition from the Barbadians in 1667 for free trade in negroes from the coast of Guinea, and for white servants, especially Scotch.

that they were not content with an isolated and self-contained existence, and that they were ready to make good the claim of their colony to be called the metropolis of the islands, by taking part in expeditions beyond their own shores.

In the year 1685 King James the Second came to the British throne. He had already worked ill to Barbados as the head of the Royal African Company, and his accession was accompanied by further taxes on sugar, and by an importation of political prisoners, partisans of Monmouth and victims of the Bloody Assize. War with France followed the Revolution of 1688, which sent the Stuarts over the water to the care of Louis the Fourteenth, and, in the following year, Barbadian troops were mainly instrumental in recovering St. Kitts from the French. Another but unsuccessful expedition in 1693, designed for the capture of Martinique, was again backed by the Barbadians, who sent a regular contingent of 1,000 men, and 400 volunteers in addition: so ready were the islanders to take their full share of the burden of supporting British interests in the West Indies.

In 1700 Labat, who visited Barbados, found it given up to sugar planting, rich, flourishing, and better peopled than any other of the British West Indian colonies; the number of slaves was given to him at 60,000, but he placed it himself at the lower figure of 40,000, and he noticed the danger to the public peace from the Irish element in the community. By the middle of the eighteenth century, in 1757, the number of negroes was returned at nearly 64,000, while the white population was under 17,000. The islanders, however, were vigorous as ever, for in 1762 they raised a regiment for the expedition which took Martinique, and thus contributed to the British successes which led up to the peace of Paris in the following year. The Stamp Act, which helped to bring about the revolt of the North American colonies, pressed for a while on Barbados also; and the Barbadians felt the ill effects of the policy embodied in it, for the American War of Independence

cut them off from their food supplies, and brought, according to the terms of their address to the king, a population of 12,000 whites and 80,000 blacks within reach of starvation. In 1780 the island was laid desolate by an awful hurricane, and representations of the misery thus caused, led to a grant from the Imperial Parliament of £80,000, to which was added a sum raised by private subscription in England. This help from the mother-country was requited in after years, for in 1847 the Barbadian Legislature voted £2,000 for the relief of the sufferers by the Irish famine. The hurricane came at a bad time, when the fortunes of war in the West were adverse to Great Britain. The French took island after island, and gathered their fleet for a final attack upon the few remaining British dependencies. Volunteer levies were raised in Barbados to defend its shores against the threatened invasion, but happily no French landing took place. Rodney's ships were not far off, and his crowning victory over the French admiral De Grasse gave back security to the colony which had never known the bitterness of foreign occupation.

Danger of French invasion was still imminent in the early years of the nineteenth century, and in June, 1805, Nelson arrived at the island in search of the fleets of France and Spain, which four months afterwards he broke to pieces at Trafalgar. The first monument which was placed to his memory is the statue standing in Trafalgar Square at Bridgetown, and the inscription upon it to the memory of 'the preserver of the British West Indies in a moment of unexampled peril,' testifies to the sense of danger which his victory removed.

Troubles too came from the New World as well as from the Old, for the embargo placed by the Government of the United States on the trade of Great Britain and her colonies, with the war which followed in 1812, straitened the supplies of the island. At the same time the movement against slavery was gathering strength, and premature reports of emancipation led to a slave insurrection in 1816. In 1805 there were 15,000

white inhabitants to 60,000 slaves, and in 1834, the year of liberty, the number of slaves had risen to nearly 83,000, while the white population was slightly under 13,000.

Again at a critical time the island was visited by a hurricane, the storm of the eleventh of August, 1831, being, in the words of the governor, 'one of the most dreadful hurricanes ever experienced in the West Indies.' It laid waste the three islands of Barbados, St. Vincent, and St. Lucia, and once more the Imperial Parliament voted a grant in aid of the sufferers, supplementing the gift by a loan and by a suspension of the duties levied on the provisions imported into the island.

The story of emancipation and free trade need not be here dwelt upon, for the lot of Barbados did not materially differ from that of the rest of the West Indies. The present condition of the island seems to show that the Barbadians faced their difficulties manfully and well, although no colony was more dependent on slave labour, and there was none whose fortunes were more bound up with the one product of sugar. It need only be added that in 1833 the Governor of Barbados was constituted also Governor of St. Vincent, Grenada, and Tobago, St. Lucia being also included in 1838, and for a short time Trinidad as well. Barbados thus became again the seat of government for the Windward Islands: and the arrangement continued till the year 1885, when it was severed from the other members of the group, and left to be, what it has practically been throughout its history, a separate item in the community of the West Indies.

Barbados enjoys representative institutions without responsible government. The Legislature is composed of two chambers, a nominated Legislative Council, and an elected House of Assembly, which is, next to the House of Commons and the Bermudian House of Assembly, the most ancient and characteristic Legislative body now existing in the King's dominions. The Legislative Council consists of nine members, nominated by the Crown, of whom two only are officials, and

the House of Assembly of twenty-four members, elected annually, two for each of twelve electoral districts. Only a small proportion of the people are registered as voters¹, though the franchise is fairly liberal. The present quiet state of politics in the island is evidenced by the fact that at the last general election there was not a single contest. Subject to the Governor's veto, all power over legislation and finance, and to some extent over administration also, rests practically with the Assembly. There is no regular civil list, and, formerly, the initiation of money votes belonged to the Assembly; this function, however, is now vested in an Executive Committee, composed of the Governor, the members of the Executive Council, and five members of the Legislature, which frames the estimates for the year, and settles the measures to be brought forward by the Government.

The law of Barbados is in the main that of England prior to the Judicature Acts, supplemented by ordinances passed by the local legislature. The Court of Common Pleas and Grand Sessions consists of the Chief Justice only, who also presides in the Courts of Chancery and Admiralty. The inferior jurisdiction is in the hands of the Judge of the Petty Debt Court at Bridgetown, and seven magistrates, whose decisions are revised by the Assistant Court of Appeal, consisting of three judges. The latter Court has also a limited original jurisdiction in common law concurrently with the Court of Common Pleas in smaller cases beyond the limits of jurisdiction of the Petty Debt Courts, and also in Chancery and Probate, all being subject to appeal to the Chief Justice. The Chief Justice is a member of the Windward Islands Court of Appeal, to which all appeals from Barbados lie.

Barbados is in shape a rough triangle², the apex of which points a little to the west of north. It is nearly 21 miles in length, its greatest breadth is $14\frac{1}{2}$ miles, and its superficial

¹ The number of registered electors at the 1903 election was 1,698.

² 'The isle is most like a triangle' (John Smith, 1629).

area is 166 square miles. It is thus rather larger than the Isle of Wight, which has an area of about 145 square miles. It is almost encircled by coral reefs, and, with the exception of the Scotland district on the east, is of coral formation. The island is divided into two unequal sections by a valley running almost due east from Bridgetown. In the smaller southern section the line of length is from east to west, and the ground rises gradually from the coast to the ridge, which forms the southern side of the dividing valley. In the larger northern half the line of length is from north to south, and from the level strip of land along the western coast there is a well-defined series of terraces, broken by gullies, and rising to the main semicircular ridge, between which and the eastern coast is the rugged Scotland district. In this ridge, in the parish of St. Andrew, is Mount Hillaby, the highest point in the island, 1,148 feet high. The Scotland district, so called from its wild mountainous aspect, consists mainly of steep hills, radiating out from the semicircle towards the sea, for the most part in a north-easterly direction. The formation is sandstones, clays, and infusorial earths, the products of which may become in future a valuable source of revenue to the island. The two physical defects of Barbados are want of harbours and want of rivers. The island has no natural harbour¹, the nearest approach to one being the roadstead of Carlisle Bay on the western coast, an indentation about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile deep by $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 miles across; and it has but few streams², the largest being Scotland river in St. Andrew's parish on the eastern side. The absence of running water is due to the porous nature of the soil, the moisture passing through the coralline limestone into subterranean channels and wells; and this natural drainage has at least the advantage of giving Barbados a dryer, less

¹ This want is noticed in the account compiled by John Smith (1629), 'Harbours they have none, but exceeding good rodes, which with a small charge might be very well fortified.'

² Labat notices the want of water in Barbados and all the English islands in his time, except St. Kitts.

malarious atmosphere than prevails in some of the other islands.

In 1629 the colony was divided into six parishes, and in 1645 Governor Bell added five more, so that there are now eleven parishes in all. St. Lucy's takes in the northern end of the island. Next to it comes St. Peter's, containing, on the west coast, Speightstown, the second place in the island in size and importance. South of St. Peter's, on the same western side, is St. James's parish, in which is Hometown, the site of the earliest settlement. South again of St. James's is St. Michael's, in which is Bridgetown, the capital, a town of some ¹ 25,000 inhabitants, extending for 2 miles round the shores of Carlisle Bay, and ending on the south in St. Ann's Castle, formerly the headquarters of the troops. From Bridgetown, the one line of railway in the island, 24 miles in length, owned and worked by a private company, runs across to the eastern coast at Conset Point, and then turns northward up the coast to the parish of St. Andrew. The southern end of the island is included in the parish of Christchurch, in which Oistin's Bay, and the village upon it, is so called 'not in commemoration of any saint, but of a wild, mad, drunken fellow, whose lewd and extravagant carriage made him infamous in the island ².' The south-eastern corner is comprised in St. Philip's, the largest parish in the island. To the north of St. Philip's and Christchurch are the two parishes of St. George's and St. John's, the former purely inland, the latter bordering on the east coast, and containing Conset Bay and Codrington College. North of St. Michael's and St. George's is the parish of St. Thomas, in the middle of the island; and lastly, the central district on the eastern side is the Scotland district, extending over St. Joseph's and St. Andrew's parishes, of which St. Andrew's is noteworthy as containing the highest hill, the largest stream, and in a gas jet known

¹ The population at the 1891 census numbered 20,996.

² From Ligon. Oistin is a corruption of Austin, which was the name of the disreputable settler.

as the 'boiling spring'¹, the greatest natural curiosity in Barbados.

Lying in the open ocean, to windward of the rest of the West Indies, Barbados enjoys a specially equable climate. The prevailing wind blows from the north-east over the Atlantic, and, though the average annual rainfall is 60 inches, the absence of high mountain and forest to hold the moisture, coupled with a surface through which the rain-water quickly passes into subterranean reservoirs, keeps the atmosphere bright and dry. This it is which has given the island a reputation for healthiness above most of its neighbours, the death rate for 1903 having been a little under 20 per 1,000, not much higher than the death rate of England and Wales. The mean temperature for the last few years has been about 76° Fahrenheit, the greatest heat registered being 89°. It has been seen that the colony suffered terribly in past times from hurricanes, but of late years storms have been less frequent. In September 1898, however, the island was visited by a severe hurricane, which was probably the most disastrous since the great hurricane of 1831. Eighty-five persons were killed and 260 injured, and Government property to the extent of £20,000 was destroyed.

A visitor² to Barbados in the year 1665 described it as one great garden, no less pleasant than fruitful,—a description which applies to some extent at the present day. It is wholly given to sugar; a few plantations of trees and an occasional plot of maize or provisions (yams and eddoes) alone varying the continuous fields of cane, with the chimneys and windmills of the sugar factories rising amongst them. The average amount of sugar shipped has steadily increased in the last fifty years, though its decreased value makes the export for recent years

¹ This or a similar spring is mentioned in John Smith's narrative, 'A spring near the midst of the isle, of Bitume.' See also an old account of it quoted in Southey's *West Indies*, vol. i. p. 254, note.

² See a letter from John Reid, dated August 5th, 1665, of which an abstract is given in the *Calendar of State Papers*. The writer says also that the climate is not so hot as that of Spain in the dog-days.

appear smaller in comparison with the past than it really is. Reference has already been made¹ to the establishment of an Imperial Department of Agriculture in the West Indies with headquarters at Barbados, the object being to improve the methods of cane cultivation and to encourage technical education in connexion with the industry by which so many of the West Indian Colonies live.

Among other industries fishing, especially the taking of flying fish, is of some importance; and there is also a small whale fishery which contributes to the annual exports of the island. The colony can hardly be said to possess any mineral resources, the only mines being those in connexion with the extraction of asphaltum or manjak, an industry which may be said to be still in its infancy. Petroleum also exists in small quantities.

Considerable attention has been paid to the advancement of subsidiary industries, the most successful of which have been cotton and bananas. The demand for cotton is increasing, and the kind most suitable for cultivation in Barbados is what is known as Sea Island cotton, which commands good prices and gives better results than any other. Some 1,200 acres have been planted already.

The Barbados bananas find a ready market in England. They are different in kind to those shipped from Jamaica, and the two do not compete. Banana cultivation may become a profitable industry, and the possibilities of gain which such cultivation affords should not be overlooked.

Hitherto, as the military headquarters of the British West Indies and the meeting point of the mails, Barbados has been the *entrepôt* of trade with the other islands, distributing from its roadstead the flour and preserved fish of the United States. Greater facilities of steam communication, however, have interfered considerably with this trade pre-eminence, and the troops are now in course of withdrawal.

¹ See above, p. 74.

The imports for 1903 were valued at £821,617, and the exports at £552,891, these figures being the lowest since 1895. The great falling off during the year was owing to the epidemic of small-pox which broke out in February, 1902, and lasted until April 1903, a rigid quarantine being enforced against the island by the other West Indian Colonies during the whole of this period. As a consequence the transshipping and inter-colonial trade ceased almost entirely, and the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company were compelled for a time to remove their headquarters to Trinidad.

The volume of trade continued to run very much in the same channels as in previous years. The imports from the United Kingdom amounted to rather less than half of the total, followed by those of the United States about one-third, and British North America about one-tenth; but of late years more than half the total exports have gone to the United States. The bulk of the export trade consists of sugar and molasses, but the rum exported has dwindled down to a negligible quantity¹, the reason being, it is said, that the locally-manufactured article cannot compete in price with that from other colonies.

The public debt is £425,600, incurred for certain public works, and the sinking fund accumulations amount to £57,978. The revenue for 1903 was £180,831, chiefly raised from import duties. The rum duties and licences also produce substantial sums, though the amount derived from these sources is gradually declining.

In addition to the general revenue of the Government, a considerable annual parish revenue, administered by the vestries for parochial purposes, is raised from land-taxes, trade-taxes, and certain other rates. The average receipts and expenditure for three years past have been about £200,000.

Of late years Barbados has, in common with other West Indian islands, been passing through a period of depression, but it is satisfactory to note that the colony appears to have reached

¹ Only 2,406 gallons were exported in 1903.

the turn of the tide. According to the latest reports¹ the prospects appear to be brighter than they have been for a very long time, and all branches of trade show revival. The long period of distress is at length passing away and giving place to more hopeful times, a change which may be attributed to the prospective abolition of the bounty system, and the assistance granted by the Imperial Parliament in aid of the sugar industry.

Barbados possesses one line of railway from Bridgetown to the parish of St. Andrew, which was commenced in 1880 and completed in 1882. In 1898 it was bought by the Foreign American and General Trust 'Co., and reconstructed as the Bridgetown and St. Andrew Railway, with a total length of 28 miles. There is an excellent telephone service throughout the island in the hands of a private company, with an approximate length of wire in use of 660 miles.

The population of Barbados in 1901 was estimated at 195,588 souls². This gives 1,178 to the square mile, and makes Barbados one of the most densely populated places, excluding towns, in the whole world. Of this total a comparatively small number only are whites, in great measure the descendants of old Royalists or Puritans, who still reflect the strength and independence of their ancestors, patriotic pride in their community and island being a striking characteristic of Barbadians, white and coloured alike.

The large majority of the people belong, and always have belonged, to the Church of England, which is endowed from the general revenue. The Bishop of Barbados includes the Windward Islands in his see, and the parish church of St. Michael's is his cathedral. A small annual grant is made to the Wesleyans and Moravians, and one of £50 to the very limited Roman Catholic body.

¹ See the Governor's speech at the opening of the Legislative session of 1904-5.

² No census was taken in 1901 owing to the state of the public finances.

In its system of elementary education Barbados does not differ much from other West Indian colonies: in respect of higher education it stands far ahead of them. It is the only colony where a school may be found, viz. Harrison's College, of the type of the large English public schools; and in Codrington College, affiliated to Durham University, it has the one collegiate institution in this part of the world, endowed by a Barbadian, who had learnt at Oxford to value University teaching and college life¹. Of the elementary schools, all of which are denominational and the majority connected with the Church of England, there are 167 in receipt of Government grants; there are also five second-grade schools, and a high school and two second-grade schools for girls, while four scholarships are granted by the colony, tenable at any University or College in Europe or Canada, or at any Agricultural or Technical College in Europe or America that may be approved by the Education Board.

Barbados, as has been said, lies by itself beyond the ring of the Caribbean Islands. It is further to the east than the rest of the West Indies, and is therefore the natural point of call from the mother-country, from which it is separated by 4,000 miles of Atlantic ocean. It is about 100 miles due east of the island of St. Vincent, about 400 miles from British Guiana, 280 from Antigua, 1,000 from Jamaica, and 1,200 from the Bermudas. The nearest foreign neighbour is the French island of Martinique.

In history, as in geography, it stands apart from the other

¹ Barbados owes Codrington College to the bequest of Christopher Codrington, a member of the family of that name so well known in West Indian history. He was born in Barbados, and was an undergraduate of Christ Church and a Probationer Fellow of All Souls, to which latter college he left his books and a sum of money to build a library. He succeeded his father as Governor of the Leeward Islands in 1698, and died at Barbados in 1710. By his will he left two plantations in Barbados, called Conset's and Codrington's, to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, then recently incorporated, for the maintenance of professors and scholars to study divinity and medicine. The building was begun in 1716, but was not finished for many years afterwards.

West Indian islands. Of all the West Indies it is perhaps the purest specimen of a colony as opposed to a dependency, and of all the British possessions in the Caribbean Sea it has the most unbroken British traditions. The English found it an empty island, and they peopled it, bringing in after them African slaves. No native element was ousted by them, no foreign nation ever had Barbados in its keeping. Englishmen came there to live, not to trade merely or to rule. The rapidity of its growth is almost unparalleled in the history of colonization; and it is evidence at once of the prosperity which free trade brought in early colonizing days, and of the number of emigrants who, in the middle of the seventeenth century, were leaving England for the West. On the other hand, the story of the Civil War shows that there was quality as well as quantity in the emigration, that the men who went out were whole-hearted men, who meant to make the island their home, and meant that home to be a free, self-governed one. From its geographical position as an outpost in the Atlantic, Barbados in early days attracted English sailors and English settlers, and, lying so far out to sea, its climate was better suited to Englishmen than that of the other parts of the western tropics. In tropical lands Englishmen, as a rule, cannot settle, live, and thrive. In Barbados they could and did, and the history of the island, with its long generations of English inhabitants, is the most striking exception to the rule that the tropics must be peopled by others than the nations of northern Europe. Yet even in Barbados, once the black race was introduced, it soon outnumbered the white, and the terrible mortality of the white servants imported into the plantations showed that even if Europeans can live in the tropics, they must at last be supplanted by coloured races to do the manual work.

Barbados is an island of which the utmost has been made; almost every available acre of its surface is, and always has been, under careful cultivation; and, if the question were to be asked, how far the capabilities of a land and its people are developed under British rule, it would be well to instance this densely-

peopled, richly-cultivated little island, which, from the days of the first settlers down to the present moment has, even in times of trouble and distress, been so pre-eminently full of life.

BOOKS RELATING TO BARBADOS.

LIGON'S *True and exact History of the Island of Barbados* (London, 1657) is a contemporaneous account of the island by an eye-witness at its most interesting time.

Of later books, SCHOMBURGK'S *History of Barbados* (London, 1848) is full and exhaustive in every particular; and MR. DARNELL DAVIS'S *Cavaliers and Roundheads in Barbados* (Georgetown, British Guiana, 1887) gives a most minute and interesting account of the island to the end of the Civil War, with a number of curious details bearing on the West Indies generally.

CHAPTER VI

THE WINDWARD ISLANDS

THE Windward Islands colony consists of the islands of St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Grenada, which lie almost due north of each other in the order given, and of the chain of islets between St. Vincent and Grenada, known as the Grenadines. They are not a single colony, but a confederation of three separate colonies, with a common Executive in the person of the Governor-in-Chief, who resides at Grenada. At the same time, the islands are near to each other, and in history and traditions they have much in common.

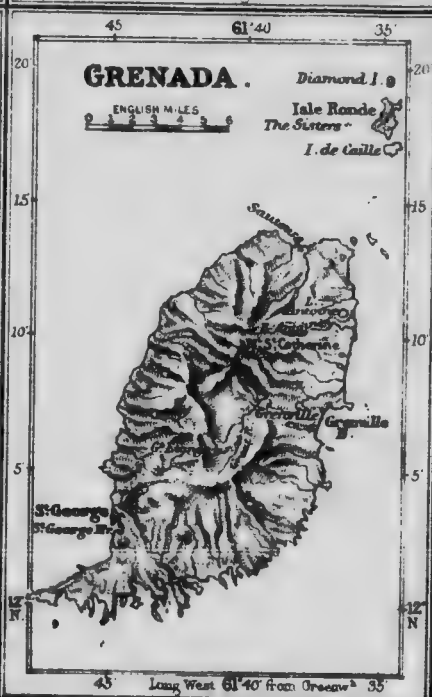
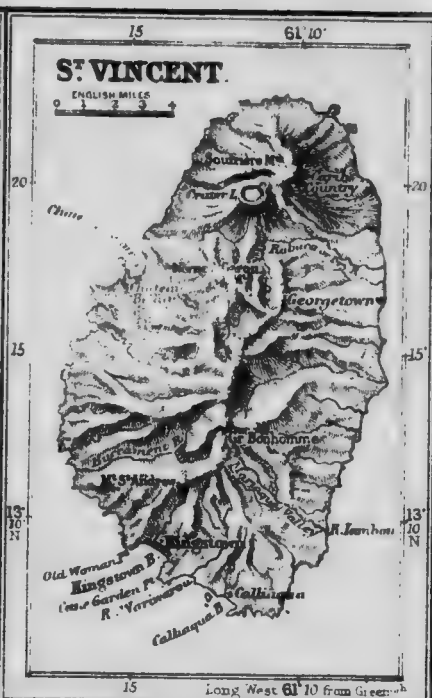
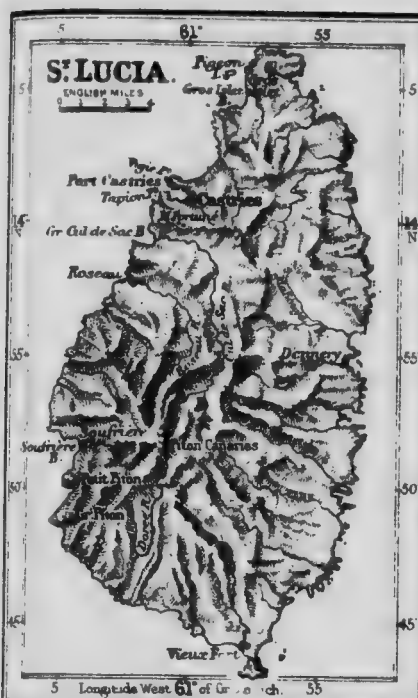
Grenada was discovered by Columbus on his third voyage in 1498, and was named by him Concepcion, its present name, so familiar to Spanish ears, being given at some unknown subsequent date.

On the same voyage he is said to have discovered St. Vincent, though the record is quite uncertain. The discovery of St. Lucia is popularly set down to his fourth voyage in 1502; but the new island, which he then sighted, and which was known to the natives as Mantinino, was not St. Lucia, but the neighbouring island of Martinique¹.

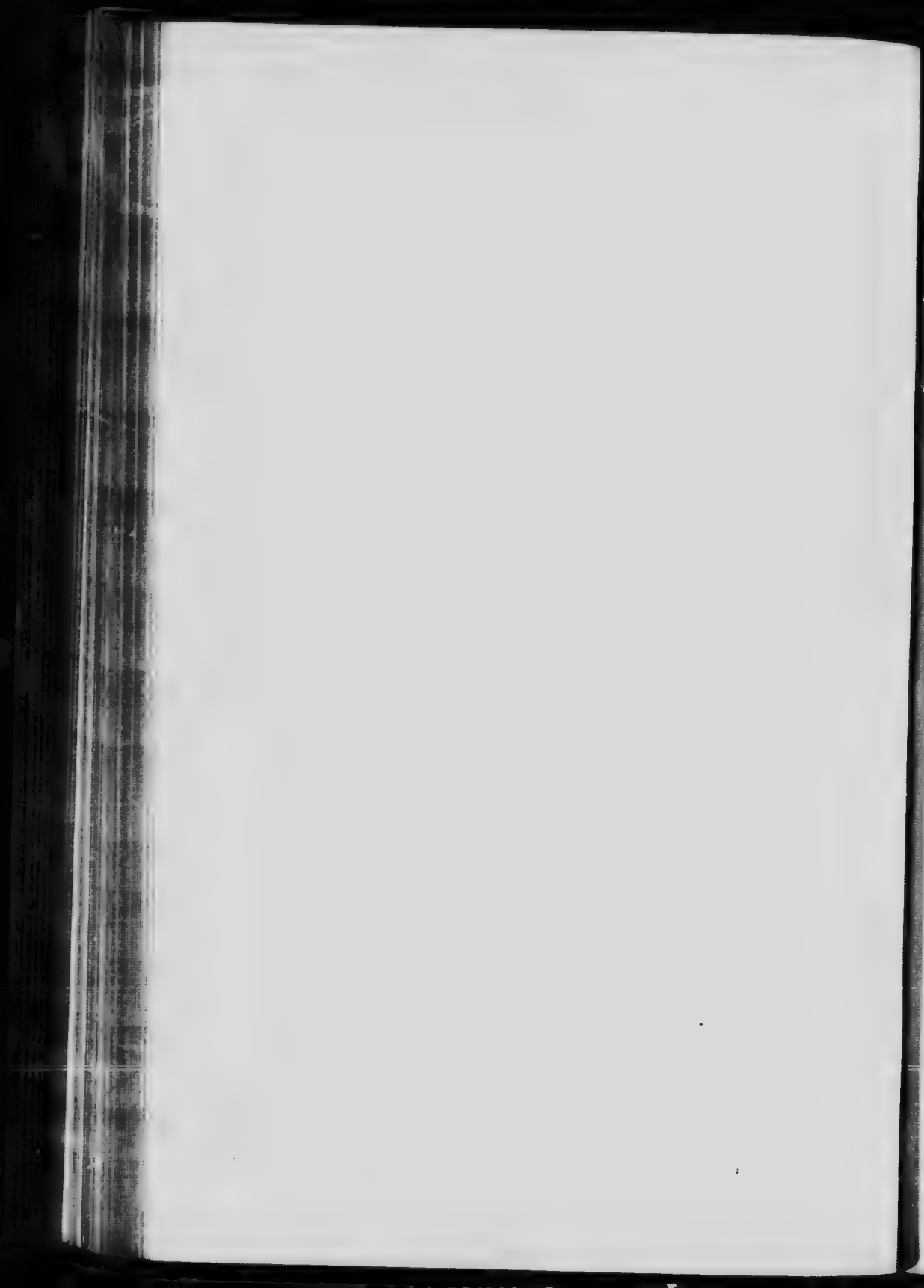
St. Vincent and St. Lucia were probably named after the days on which they were discovered, St. Vincent's day being the twenty-second of January, St. Lucy's the thirteenth of December. St. Lucia was also known in French guise as St. Alousie; and other forms of the name, as e.g. St. Alouziel, occur in early notices of the island.

It may be assumed that the three islands were discovered by

¹ See Washington Irving's *Columbus*, bk. xv. ch. i.



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the Spaniards, and they were inhabited by natives of the Carib race. The English claim to them rested on the commission given to Sir T. Warner, and still more on the famous Carlisle grant¹, in which they were all included by name, while the French claim rested on the grant to the Company of the Islands of America, to which reference has already been made².

As regards their history in the early days of French and English colonization, Grenada appears to have been monopolized by the French, St. Lucia to have been disputed between the two nations, and St. Vincent to have been, like Dominica, in great measure left to its native inhabitants, being, according to an old account, 'the most populous of any possessed by the Caribbians³.'

As far as can be gathered, the first European settlement in these islands was at St. Lucia, the northernmost of them, and was of English origin⁴. As early as 1605, Englishmen had landed and stayed some while on the island. They were sixty-seven passengers of the 'Olive Blossom⁵,' which had just touched at Barbados and was on its way to Guiana. The men who landed 'to take their fortune in the fruitful island' stayed there for rather more than a month, when, being reduced to nineteen by wars with the Indians, they set sail in an open boat, and reached the mainland of South America in sore distress.

More than thirty years later, in 1638, one Captain Judlee of St. Kitts obtained a commission from Sir T. Warner to settle St. Lucia, and went there with 300 or 400 men. A considerable proportion of the number would seem to have been Bermudians, for a document, emanating from the Bermuda Company in 1639,

¹ See above, p. 173. See also in the *Calendar of State Papers* (under the year 1664?) the abstract of a paper headed 'the state of the case concerning our title to St. Lucia.'

² See above, pp. 49, 139.

³ From the *History of the Caribby Islands*.

⁴ The Dutch are said to have visited the island and built a small fort at its south-eastern end, but the date is doubtful.

⁵ See above, p. 171. An account of this adventure is given in *Purchas his Pilgrimes*; see the abstract of it in Southey's *West Indies* (vol. i. p. 235).

stated that about 130 had transplanted themselves from the Somers Islands to St. Lucia in the preceding year. The settlement had but a short life; the new-comers found the island unhealthy, they were ill-provided with supplies, and they soon became embroiled with the natives. An English ship had attempted to carry off some Caribs from Dominica to slavery, and, in revenge, the Indians of St. Lucia, with the help of their countrymen from St. Vincent and Martinique, rose against the little band of settlers, and, in 1641, killed their governor and drove them from the island¹. The incident is interesting because it shows how closely the natives of the different islands held together, and also because rightly or wrongly the French, who had established themselves close to St. Lucia in Martinique, were believed to have instigated the Indians against the English. On this, as on other occasions, the French seem to have displayed a singular aptitude for assimilating their mode of life to that of savage races, for their English rivals accused them of going naked among the natives and painting themselves as the Indians did².

In 1650, Du Parquet, the Governor of Martinique, who was nephew of Desnambuc, the first French colonizer in the West Indies, bought from the French West India Company, Martinique, St. Lucia, Grenada, and the Grenadines. He at once went to Grenada with 200 men, and, being kindly received by the natives, he took formal possession of the island, built a fort, and founded a colony. The man whom he left in charge soon fell out with the Caribs; he was reinforced from Martinique, and carried out, under Du Parquet's orders, a war of wholesale extermination. The massacre of the Indians left its mark on the nomenclature of the island, for the cliff on the northern coast of Grenada, known as the *Morne des Sauteurs* or *Leapers' Hill*, is by tradition the spot where, to escape murder at the

¹ See above, p. 48. According to one account the Indians smoked out the English with dried red pepper.

² See above, pp. 48, 49 note 2, 148.

hands of their enemies, some forty Caribs cast themselves headlong into the sea. The horrible thoroughness with which Du Parquet and his followers set to work to make their footing in Grenada sure seems to have had its effect, for the island became, at any rate tacitly, recognized as a French possession. In 1668 the second Lord Willoughby hinted at the advisability of exchanging St. Kitts for Grenada, as though the latter were the acknowledged property of the French; and when, in 1671 the Leeward and Windward Islands were separated from each other, the commission to the governor of the latter specified by name Barbados, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Dominica, but omitted all mention of Grenada¹. On the other hand, it is satisfactory to read that Du Parquet did not profit by his enormities. He found his colony in Grenada so expensive that in 1656 he sold the island to the Count de Cerillac; and the latter, after appointing a governor who was tried and shot by his French subjects, and otherwise oppressing the colonists, sold it again in 1665 to the French West India Company, on the dissolution of which at the end of 1674 it passed to the French Crown.

At or about the same time that Du Parquet colonized Grenada, in 1650, he sent forty settlers also to St. Lucia. In this case he made a better choice of a governor, selecting a man named Rousselan, who had married a Carib woman², and who won the esteem and veneration of the natives. Rousselan died in 1654, and his successors in the government were less able or less fortunate than himself; three of them were murdered by the Caribs, and the latter continued hostile until the treaty of 1660 was signed³. Meanwhile the English had not acquiesced in the French occupation of St. Lucia, and when Lord Willoughby

¹ See above, p. 140, &c. The Commission appointed the second Lord Willoughby Governor of Barbados, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Dominica, and the rest of His Majesty's Caribbee Islands to windward of Guadeloupe.

² Compare the influence gained over the natives of Dominica by the half-breed Warner, who had also married a Carib woman. (See above, p. 148.)

³ See above, pp. 57, 148.

returned to Barbados in 1663, he took prompt steps to contest it. He asserted that the island belonged to the English by ancient title and occupation; that the few French who had gone there had gone not to settle but to fish and hunt; that already, before his arrival, the Barbadians had entered into a treaty with the Indians with a view to making St. Lucia an outlet for the surplus population of their own colony¹; and that he himself had been invited by the natives to form a settlement among them, as a counterpoise to the French in Martinique². These assertions he backed by sending 1,000 or more³ Barbadians to the island in 1664, with the half-breed Thomas Warner, afterwards Governor of Dominica⁴; and he defrayed the expense of the settlement from the newly-levied $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. duty, which caused so much heart-burning in Barbados. His settlers overpowered the French, but St. Lucia remained in British occupation only for a short time. Sickness and native wars seem to have rapidly thinned the numbers of the colonists; and, either in 1666 or in 1667, either before or after the conclusion of the peace of Breda, for accounts differ, the English evacuated the island and allowed the French to regain their footing in it.

It will be remembered that in 1663 Lord Willoughby's lease of the Caribbean Islands had some seven years to run⁵, and that during that time he was granted one-half of the profits of those islands which were payable to the Crown. St. Lucia came within the terms of the arrangement, and, in 1663, the king granted the other moiety of the profits in the case of this particular island to Edmund Waller, whose father, the well-

¹ In the paper referred to above (p. 205, note 1) this treaty is said to have been made in 1652.

² Later, in 1668, St. Lucia was still said to belong to the king of England through purchase from the Indians by the late Lord Willoughby, and the actual conveyance was said to be in his brother's possession.

³ The number is variously given. In 1667 it was stated that 1,300 Barbadians had previously gone to St. Lucia with Francis, Lord Willoughby, and perished in the design; and in 1670, that near 1,500 lusty men had been sent by the late Lord Willoughby to St. Lucia, where they were all lost.

⁴ See above, p. 148, 149.

⁵ See above, p. 176 and note.

known poet, was a prominent member of the Council of Plantations; he further granted him the whole island for fifty years from the expiration of the Willoughby lease, on an annual payment of £3 6s. 8d. The grant came to nothing, as St. Lucia passed out of English keeping though not out of the sphere of English claims; but it is noticeable, as showing the haphazard way in which kings gave away islands, which cost them nothing, for the mere asking.

In 1668 the second Lord Willoughby made a treaty with the Indians in St. Lucia and St. Vincent, by which the natives acknowledged themselves to be subjects of the king of England, and contracted that they on the one hand should be free to come and go in the English colonies, and the English on the other should be free to visit their two islands. Nothing much, however, appears to have come of the treaty, and for many years St. Lucia was considered by the French to be one of their possessions, and a dependency of Martinique. As a matter of fact, down to the end of the seventeenth century the island seems to have been left very much to itself.

St. Vincent, during the same century, was less intruded upon by European colonizers than perhaps any other island of any size in the West Indies. It was described in 1668 as about as large as Barbados, covered with wood, and inhabited only by Indians and blacks, who acknowledged themselves subject to the king of England. The English appear to have had the good sense to recognize that they were a 'jealous people,' and likely to be the more friendly the less they were interfered with; and the French also abstained from interference, probably for the same reasons. At the end of the seventeenth century there were two distinct races in the island, the red or yellow and the black Caribs. The latter, who became the predominating race, were supposed to be of negro origin, one or more cargoes of slaves having been wrecked on or near the shores of St. Vincent. The shipwrecked negroes escaped into the forests, were from time to time joined by runaways from

Barbados and elsewhere, and, inter-marrying with the Caribs, produced descendants who proved too strong for the aborigines of the island¹.

Very scanty are the accounts given of the three islands in the seventeenth century. St. Lucia was reputed to be very unhealthy, and, like St. Vincent, it was covered with woods, from which the French of Martinique and Guadeloupe extracted some timber; St. Vincent was left to the Indians and negroes; and Grenada, where there had been most attempt at colonization, contained in 1700 only 251 whites with 525 slaves, engaged in growing a little sugar and indigo².

After the peace of Utrecht, in 1713, French and English alike began to pay more attention to the Windward Islands. In 1718, the Duke of Orleans, then Regent of France, made a grant of St. Lucia to Marshal d'Estrées, who sent an expedition to colonize the island. His company found upon it a number of deserters belonging to both nations, ready to join in the new settlement; but the scheme was given up in deference to remonstrances from the British government, which still upheld a vague claim over the island, and still included it at the beginning of the eighteenth century in the commissions issued to the Governor of Barbados. In the following year the French sent a force from Martinique to St. Vincent, to assist the red Caribs against their black neighbours, but this expedition again ended in nothing beyond a peace with both the native races in that island. It was now the turn of the English to make a move, and in 1722 King George the First made a grant of St. Lucia and St. Vincent to the Duke of Montague, with a view to settlement. The duke sent out a strong body

¹ The account given in Bryan Edwards (bk. III. chap. iii. sec. 1, note) is that a shipload of negroes from Guinea was wrecked at Bequia, one of the Grenadines near St. Vincent, in 1675; but in the *Calendar of State Papers*, under the year 1667(?), it is stated that there were then negroes in St. Vincent, due to the loss of two Spanish ships in 1635. Possibly there were two shipwrecks of the same kind.

² About 1667 there was some mention of cotton in Grenada.

of colonists under the command of captain Uring or Vring, who, on arrival at St. Lucia, was handed a copy of a mandate from the King of France to the Governor-General of the French West Indies, protesting against his proceedings. The mandate stated that neither of the islands belonged to Great Britain; that St. Vincent ought, in accordance with past conventions, to be left to the Caribs, and that St. Lucia belonged to France, although French settlement in it had been suspended in deference to the wishes of the King of England; and it gave instructions in clear and firm, though moderate, language, that the English project of settling in St. Lucia was to be prevented, if necessary, by force of arms. In spite of the protest Vring landed some men, and made preparation for settlement; but, upon the arrival of an overwhelming French force from Martinique, he came to terms, and agreed that both nations should evacuate the islands, coming there only for wood and water, until a decision was arrived at on the conflicting claims. Having failed at St. Lucia, he sent on a ship to St. Vincent, but the attempt on this island proved as abortive as that on St. Lucia. The captain negotiated with the natives, who had a Frenchman as interpreter, and some of whom spoke French themselves; he was politely given to understand that the French had warned the Indians against the English, and had assured them of help in the event of force being used, and that the natives had no intention of allowing Europeans of any nation to gain a footing in their island. Accordingly he desisted from further action, having the good sense to see that the time was not ripe for colonizing St. Vincent, and that any attempt to do so would make the inhabitants the determined foes of Great Britain.

At the end of 1730, the English and French governments sent out orders to the effect that the islands of Dominica, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent should be temporarily evacuated by both nations¹. The English instructions recited an 'un-

¹ See above, p. 151.

doubted' English right to all three islands; while the French, on the other hand, specified an 'incontestable' right to St. Lucia, but acknowledged the Caribs as owners of Dominica and St. Vincent. These instructions were subsequently embodied in the treaty of Aix la Chapelle in 1748, and for a few years Dominica, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Tobago were recognized as neutral, and were presumed to be left in possession of the natives.

During all this time little was heard of Grenada, but it appears to have thriven quietly as an undisputed French colony, and to have derived a certain amount of wealth and prosperity from contraband trade with the Dutch. In 1753 it had a population of 1,200 whites and 12,000 slaves, and grew sugar, coffee, cocoa, and cotton.

The year 1756 brought war between France and Great Britain, and in the course of the struggle all the Windward Islands passed into British hands. In 1762 Martinique, from which the strong arm of France had been so often stretched out over the neighbouring islands, capitulated to an English force, and Grenada, St. Vincent, and St. Lucia followed in its train. In the following year the peace of Paris ceded Grenada and St. Vincent to England, but restored to France the coveted island of St. Lucia.

At the time that the division was made of the so-called neutral islands, they already contained a considerable number of European colonists, especially French. Even in St. Vincent, of all the islands the greatest stronghold of the Caribs, there were said to be, in 1762, 800 white inhabitants, owning 3,000 slaves, and exporting produce to the value of £63,000 per annum. Accordingly, once the sovereignty of these debatable lands was settled, the two governments concerned took prompt steps for organizing their settlements and fashioning them into regular English or French colonies. The British Windward Islands, including Dominica, St. Vincent, the Grenadines, Grenada, and Tobago, were constituted one government, called

the government of Grenada; Grenada was given representative institutions; and the Crown lands in all the islands were put up for sale. In St. Vincent, as in many other places at many other times, the division of lands caused difficulties with the natives, who were said to have numbered in 1763 only about 2,000¹, nearly all black Caribs. Attempts to survey the disputed ground, and to settle the matter by sale and exchange of land, were resisted by the black owners, who still sturdily asserted their independence and refused allegiance to any European king. In consequence, English troops were, in 1772, fetched from North America to bring them to obedience, and, after some desultory fighting, which was adversely commented on in the Imperial Parliament, a treaty was concluded in 1773, by which the Caribs acknowledged the supremacy of the English Crown, and were assigned reserves of land in the north of the island.

Meanwhile the French had lost no time in setting in order and developing their colony of St. Lucia. To mark its importance, it was at first placed under a separate government and given a large and expensive establishment; but in 1768 motives of economy prevailed, and it was made, as it had been in former days, a dependency of Martinique. French planters came in from Grenada and St. Vincent, an impulse was given to sugar and cotton growing, and, in 1772, the total population in the island of all colours was said to amount to over 15,000.

In 1778 war again broke out between France and Great Britain. The value of St. Lucia with its fine harbours was well known to the English in the West Indies, and Rodney especially pressed upon the home government the necessity of taking and keeping either that island or Martinique. Accordingly, in December of that year, a strong English force landed on the west of the island at the bay of Grand Cul de Sac; Count d'Estaing, who came to the relief of his countrymen

¹ From the number who were deported in 1795-6 this would seem to be an under-estimate.

with a squadron having 9,000 soldiers on board, was beaten off after some of the hardest fighting recorded in the West Indies, and on the thirtieth of December the French Lieutenant-Governor formally capitulated.

For the next four years, as long as the war lasted, St. Lucia continued in British hands in spite of an attempt to retake it in 1781. It proved a prize worth having, as its harbours were a rendezvous for the British squadrons, and from them Rodney started for his memorable and decisive sea-fight. The taking of the island was almost the only success on the English side during the war; Dominica had already been occupied by the French; in 1779, the disaffection of the Caribs, coupled with dissensions between the Governor and the colonists, led to the loss of St. Vincent¹; and almost immediately afterwards d'Estaing made up for his failure to relieve St. Lucia by the capture of Grenada. Thus the islands, which had been by the peace of 1763 secured to Great Britain, were taken by the French, while St. Lucia, which by the same peace had been made over to France, was taken by the English. The interchange, however, was not lasting. In 1783 the peace of Versailles was signed, St. Vincent and Grenada were restored to Great Britain, and St. Lucia returned to French allegiance. All three colonies had been in the meantime desolated by the terrible hurricane of 1780, which in St. Vincent was said to have laid low every building in the island².

No part of the West Indies was more influenced by the French Revolution, and the war which followed, than the

¹ St. Vincent had in 1776 been constituted a separate government.

² See above, p. 192. In Grenada the hurricane was supposed to have had one good effect, that of killing out the sugar ants which for some years had ravaged the plantations of the island. (See Bryan Edwards, vol. i. bk. ii. ch. 2, App.) While St. Vincent was in French hands, the French Government in 1782 granted the waste lands of the island to a Mrs. Swinburne, a lady-in-waiting at the French court. In 1786 the British Government resumed the lands, giving her a lump sum of £6,500. This is mentioned as a comparatively late instance of extravagant grants in the colonies to private individuals.

Windward Islands. They were full of inflammable elements. The white inhabitants were in great measure French in descent and sympathies. In the interior of St. Lucia Maroon negroes had already given trouble to the French authorities. In St. Vincent the Caribs were constantly ready for revolt; and in Grenada the slave population outnumbered the whites in the enormous proportion of twenty-four to one. The three islands consequently became the scene at once of foreign and of civil war. St. Lucia was amongst the foremost of the French colonies to embrace the new revolutionary doctrines in all their extravagance, and was rewarded by the National Convention with the title of 'faithful.' This new distinction did not save it from again falling into English hands. In 1794 Admiral Jervis, afterwards Lord St. Vincent, took Martinique, and within a fortnight St. Lucia also, the Duke of Kent, grandfather of the present sovereign of the British Empire, hoisting the English colours upon the fortress of Morne Fortuné. The British occupation, however, was only half complete. Frenchmen and negroes, who had drunk in the new lessons of 'rights of man,' found refuge in the woods of the interior, and at the end of 1794 Victor Hugues, a partisan of Robespierre, came out to the West Indies and gave a fresh impulse to the cause of the French Republic. In June 1795 he recovered St. Lucia; and, through the help which he sent to the insurgents in St. Vincent and Grenada, the English authority in those islands was for a while almost confined to the capitals of Kingstown and St. George's. For a short time it seemed as though, riding on the crest of a democratic wave, the French were going to sweep the West Indies, but in 1796 the English government set itself to stem the tide. St. Lucia, as ever, was made the point of attack; and good men were sent to do the work, Abercromby and Sir John Moore. Again there was hard, determined fighting, the event of which rested with the English; and Abercromby passed on to relieve St. Vincent and Grenada, leaving Moore to cope, as Governor of

St. Lucia, with a body of so-called 'Brigands,' emancipated slaves and whites of extreme democratic principles, who held out in the middle of the island, and obstructed peace and public security. The task broke down Moore's health, but at length, in 1797, the '*armée Française dans les bois*' surrendered to his successor, Colonel Drummond, and a regiment was formed out of the late insurgents, to serve at a safe distance from St. Lucia on the coast of Africa. Meanwhile the insurrection had already been put down with a strong hand in Grenada and St. Vincent; and the Caribs of the latter island were dealt with like the Maroons of Jamaica and St. Lucia. The bulk of them, to the number of 5,000, were deported from their native land to the island of Ruatan¹ in the Bay of Honduras; their lands were by a local act of 1804 annexed to the Crown; and the few natives who still remained were given about 230 acres of land for their subsistence, on which they were forbidden to cultivate sugar for fear of competing with the European planters.

The peace of Amiens in 1802 once more gave back St. Lucia to France, but it was for the last time. When war broke out again in the following year, General Nogués, one of Bonaparte's officers, who commanded in the island, was not strong enough to cope with the force sent against him. The fortress of Morne Fortuné was stormed after a brave resistance, and St. Lucia, which the French had intended to make 'the capital of the Antilles, the general market of the Windward Islands, and the Gibraltar of the Gulf of Mexico²,' became at length an integral part of the British dominions, being finally ceded in full right and sovereignty by the peace of 1814. Thus Rodney's wishes were at length fulfilled, and the island returned to the people who first attempted to settle it, and to the naval power which most coveted its harbour.

At the time of slave emancipation, in 1834, St. Lucia con-

¹ See below, p. 304.

² From a report from Governor Nogués to the First Consul Bonaparte, quoted in the introduction to Breen's *St. Lucia*.

tained over 13,000 black slaves, as against 2,300 whites, in addition to 2,600 free men of colour; and for a few years the coloured population was augmented by refugees from Martinique, who fled from that island after an unsuccessful slave revolt in 1831. St. Vincent in 1834 contained over 22,000 slaves to about 1,300 whites; and the population of Grenada in the same year consisted of 21,000 blacks, 3,600 free coloured men, and less than 700 whites. Subsequently the labour market of all the three Windward Islands was recruited, under the provisions of immigration laws, by freed Africans from Sierra Leone, St. Helena, and elsewhere, by coolies from India, and, especially in the case of St. Vincent, by natives of Madeira, the Canaries, the Cape de Verde islands, and the Azores.

About the same date, in 1833, the old Windward Islands government was revived under the headship of Barbados, and Grenada and St. Vincent were included in it, St. Lucia being added in 1838.

St. Lucia was governed as a Crown Colony, but down to a recent date Grenada and St. Vincent retained representative institutions. At length, in 1876¹, the elective principle was abolished in both the last-named islands, as being ill-suited to existing conditions; and all the three islands are now in the position of ordinary Crown Colonies. They are, however, no longer governed from Barbados as a centre, for in 1885 they were constituted a separate government, Grenada being, as in the last century, fixed upon for the residence of the Governor-in-Chief; and finally they have lost, since the first of January, 1889, the partnership of Tobago, which is now combined with the colony of Trinidad.

The three Windward Islands are grouped together for adminis-

¹ The Imperial Act of 1876, known as the 'St. Vincent, Tobago, and Grenada Constitution Act of 1876,' left it to the Queen in Council to create and constitute such legislatures for these three islands as should be thought fit. This act confirmed local acts already passed in the same year to the same effect in Tobago and St. Vincent, and carried out as regards Grenada a similar wish expressed by the majority of the local legislature in an address to the Crown.

trative purposes. Each has its own Administrator, who is also the Secretary to the Government¹, but they are all under one Governor-in-Chief, who is responsible to the Imperial government; there is also one Superintendent of Public Works and one Attorney-General for Grenada and St. Vincent. A common audit system was instituted in 1889, and the colonies have also united for sundry other purposes, including the maintenance of a lunatic asylum.

There is a joint Court of Appeal for these islands and Barbados.

Each island has its own Executive and Legislative Council. The Legislative Council is now composed in each case of a varying number of official and unofficial members nominated and appointed by the Crown. In St. Lucia the total number is twelve, in St. Vincent six, and in Grenada thirteen (including the Governor-in-Chief).

The Castries Town Board in St. Lucia, the Kingstown Board in St. Vincent, and the six Town Boards in Grenada and Carriacou, have certain powers of rating and expenditure, and control local matters within specified limits. These bodies are in part elected by the ratepayers, and are the only institutions in the three islands into which the element of popular representation enters.

Although of late years there has been an increasing tendency to uniform legislation for the three islands, and many ordinances in each statute-book are in identical terms, yet they all have distinct systems of law, and separate Supreme Courts presided over in each case by a single Chief Justice.

The civil law of St. Lucia has been codified by English lawyers, but the legal system of the island, like the customs and thought of the peasants, remains essentially French, founded on the old French *arrêts*, consolidated by the Code Civile and Code Napoléon.

¹ In Grenada the Governor-in-Chief is Administrator, but has a Colonial Secretary under him.

In St. Vincent, where the English element in colonization was stronger than in the other two islands, the common law of England is the basis of the legal system.

In Grenada the original system of French law was entirely displaced in 1764, after the cession of the island, by a proclamation which applied to Grenada, so far as it was applicable, the whole body of English law. Old local statutes, however, occasionally show traces of French jurisprudence.

St. Lucia, the northernmost and the largest of the three Windward Islands, is situated about twenty-five miles to the south-east of Martinique, and rather over twenty miles to the north-east of St. Vincent. It lies north and south, pointing a little to the east of north. It is, very roughly speaking, oblong in shape, but is much broader in the south than in the north. The northern end tapers off to a considerable extent; and at the south-eastern extremity of the island a high narrow neck of land, running out for three miles into the sea, breaks the line of the southern base. The greatest length of the island is stated to be 42 miles, the greatest breadth 21, and the area 233 square miles. It is therefore rather smaller than the Welsh county of Flint. St. Lucia is a wild, picturesque island with broken shores. It has been described as 'extremely and fantastically mountainous'. The main course of the mountains is from north to south, but there are numerous transverse ridges running to the sea alike on the eastern or windward, and on the western or leeward side. The two largest plains are those of Vieux Fort in the south-east, and Gros Islet in the north-west. The two principal valleys are those of Roseau on the west and Mabouya on the east, and the most mountainous part of the island is the Soufrière district in the south-west. Here to the south of the bay of Soufrière are the far-famed Pitons, two rocky peaks rising sheer out of the sea to a height of 2,000 feet and upwards, the Gros Piton forming the south-west extremity of the island, and the Petit Piton, a little to the

¹ From the *Blue Book Report* for 1845.

north of its sister peak, forming the southern corner of the Soufrière bay. Behind them is the Soufrière itself, a volcanic crater among mountains, 1,000 feet above the sea, where sulphur springs fed, it is said, from the Étangs or lakes half a mile distant to the south-east, indicate, by constant jets of steam, that volcanic agencies are still at work. In the same district, but further inland and a little to the north, is the Piton des Canaries, about 3,000 feet high.

In the official report on the island for the year 1845 it is stated that St. Lucia, 'save in her productive plains and valleys and the richly cultivated heights of Soufrière, is covered from the sea-board to the mountain-top by masses of dense and gloomy forest'; and at the present day the interior is still but little opened up, and in the centre of the island the forests, including much valuable timber, extend from the eastern to the western coast.

St. Lucia has a very rich soil even high up on the mountains, and it has also a good water supply. There are several streams and rivers, flowing to the sea in all directions, the longest being those which run towards the north and the windward side. Like most tropical streams, however, they vary very greatly in volume according to the season of the year, and some of them hardly find their way to the sea among unhealthy marshes and lagoons. The coast of the island is deeply indented, the safest and finest bays being on the leeward or western side. First and foremost is the bay of Castries on the western coast, about nine miles from the northern end of the island, once known by the generic term of Carénage, but subsequently christened, in 1785, after the Marshal de Castries, the French colonial minister of the day. This was the harbour which led Rodney to set so much store by the possession of St. Lucia, and in testimony to which the public seal of the colony still bears the motto, '*Statio haud malefida carinis.*' It is rather over a mile in length, deep, secure, and convenient; its entrance is narrow, only about one-third of a mile in width, between the two headlands of

the Tapon on the south and the Vigie on the north, the latter being a bold, rocky peninsula, the scene of determined attack by the French and stubborn defence by the English in the fighting of 1778. At its head is the town of Castries, the capital of the island, which contained at the last census a population of 7 010. The ground to the east and north-east of the town is a plain with a background of hills. On the south side the river Castries flows into the sea, and behind it, commanding the town, is the ridge of Morne Fortuné, some 900 feet high, which in times past was, like the Vigie, the scene of some hard fighting.

North of Castries is the bay of Gros Islet, over against which, at a distance of half a mile from the mainland, is Pigeon Island, well known in the local history as a fortified outpost of St. Lucia. South of Castries, also on the same coast, is the small but picturesque Soufrière bay, the town on which, bearing the same name as the bay, is the second in size in the colony. Lastly, on the south coast, guarded from the winds by the south-eastern headland, is the bay and little town of Vieux Fort, with a rich plain behind it, connected with Castries since the days of French occupation by two roads, one passing by Dennery and the Mabouya valley on the windward side of the island, the other carried through Soufrière and the leeward districts.

The oval-shaped island of St. Vincent lies a little more than 20 miles to the south-west of St. Lucia, about 68 miles north-east of Grenada, and about 100 miles due west of Barbados. It points a little to the east of north, is 18 miles in length by 11 in breadth, and has an area of nearly 133 square miles. The string of small islands, known as the Grenadines, which lie between St. Vincent and Grenada, belong partly to the former colony, partly to the latter; and the addition of such of them as are under the government of St. Vincent makes up the total area of that colony to 147 square miles, being almost exactly the same area as that of the Isle of Wight.

The island is of volcanic formation, and, like St. Lucia and Grenada, has a backbone of thickly wooded mountains, running from north to south. At the northern end of the range is the famous Soufrière, a volcanic mountain, over 4,000 feet high, the scene of a terrible eruption in the year 1812, when the summit is said to have been blown bodily away, and of a still more appalling eruption on May 7, 1902, which devastated nearly one-third of the island, and caused fearful loss of life. At the same time the town of St. Pierre in the neighbouring island of Martinique was entirely destroyed by the eruption of Mont Pélée¹. There are upon it two deep and rugged craters, the older and larger containing a small lake whose waters are impregnated with sulphur. Nearer the centre of the island is the Morne à Garou, some 2,730 feet in height. Further south again is the Grand Bonhomme, and the southernmost point in the range is Mount St. Andrew, overlooking the town of Kingstown from a height of 2,500 feet. The mountains send off spurs on either side, but there is much more open country towards the eastern or windward, than towards the western or leeward, coast. The chief plain is on the eastern side of the northern half of the island, where there is a fertile stretch of open country, about 7 miles in length and with a breadth of from 2 to 4 miles from the sea to the mountains. This district is still known as the Carib country, having been part of the lands which were reserved to the Caribs by the treaty of 1773, and which took in all the north of the island from sea to sea. Thus the natives were long in possession of the most cultivable tract in the colony, and therefore presumably the land which was most coveted by the white settlers.

St. Vincent has many valleys and ravines, at the lower ends of which are sugar plantations, while higher up the forest timber has suffered at the hands of negro squatters and charcoal burners,

¹ See above, p. 72.

who appear to have played in this island the same part as the chena¹ cultivators in Ceylon. Among these valleys may be mentioned the rich Buccament valley on the western coast, and the valleys of Calliaqua and Mariaqua in the south-east. The Mariaqua valley is circular and landlocked, bearing the appearance of an old extensive crater, and from it the Iambou river flows through a deep and narrow gorge.

The rivers of the colony are not much more than tropical streams, half dry at one season of the year, torrents at another. The largest is said to be the Union or Argyle river on the windward side, and among others are the Wariwarou and Calliaqua, on the southern coast. In the Carib country, on the eastern side of the island, is the Rabaca, or Dry River, a water-course which, except in flood time, is of small volume, but which was an ordinary running stream before the eruption of 1812 choked its channel with volcanic débris.

The southern and western coasts of the island are the most deeply indented. The chief inlet is Kingstown Bay on the south-west, where the sea runs into the land for about three-quarters of a mile between Battery or Old Woman point on the north-west, and Cane Garden point on the south-east, distant from each other rather more than a mile. Along the head of the bay stretches Kingstown, the capital of the island, a town of 4,547 inhabitants according to the latest information. It consists mainly of three long streets running parallel with the sea, and it fills up the mouth of a valley, enclosed between two spurs running down from Mount St. Andrew to the coast. Of the other bays the principal are Calliaqua Bay two miles south-east of Kingstown, and Chateaubelair on the west coast, about 13 miles north-west of the capital. Georgetown is the largest settlement on the eastern coast.

The majority of the Grenadines are dependencies of St. Vincent.

¹ See vol. i. of this work, p. 78.

These dependencies contained in 1901 an estimated population of 3,901¹, the largest of them being Bequia, the next largest Union island and Cannouan. Bequia is less than 9 miles to the south of St. Vincent. It is of irregular shape, long and narrow, running from north-east to south-west, and it has an area of about 6 square miles. Its principal bay is Admiralty Bay on the western side. It is badly watered, and perhaps hardly deserves the old account given of it in the *History of the Caribby Islands*, that 'it would be fruitful enough if it were cultivated,' for but little sugar or other products are now grown here, and the main attraction of the island is its game. Père Labat² states that in his time Bequia contained dangerous snakes, and was for that reason called Little Martinique, though, as he says, it might equally well for the same reason have been christened Little St. Lucia.

Of the southern Grenadines, which are included in the colony of Grenada, the most important is Carriacou, which is the largest island in the whole of the group. It lies north-east and south-west, is $6\frac{3}{4}$ miles long, $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles in extreme breadth, and has an area of about 13 square miles. A central chain of hills, rising to some 700 feet, runs through great part of the island, and on its western side are two good anchorages, at Tyrrell Bay and Hillsborough Bay; on the latter, the more northerly of the two, stands the chief settlement in the island. Carriacou was no doubt colonized from Grenada³, and its first settlers are stated to have been French fishermen. It is very thickly populated; at the last census its total population was 6,497, about 500 persons to the square mile. Cotton, ground provisions, and cattle are the principal products, but the island has of late years suffered terribly from droughts, and the water supply has been

¹ No census was taken in 1901.

² Pt. IV. chap. 21. One of the Grenadines (not Bequia) is called Little Martinique at the present day.

³ In the *History of the Caribby Islands* (1666) under Grenada it is stated: 'There is good fishing all about it, and the inhabitants have also good fishing and hunting in and about three little islands called the Granadines lying north-east from it.'

further injured by the cutting down of the forests. The island is too small under present conditions to find employment for its numerous inhabitants all the year round, and between seed-time and harvest the able-bodied men migrate elsewhere in search of work. In 1903, however, the government began to purchase the estates of absentee proprietors with a view to the settlement of the peasantry on the land, a proceeding which has been attended with considerable success.

Grenada, the southernmost of the Windward Islands and the seat of government, is 68 miles south-west of St. Vincent, and about 75 miles north-west of Tobago. It is about 140 miles from Barbados, and about 85 from Trinidad. Its area is about 120 square miles, or, including Carriacou and the adjoining islets, 133. It is thus the smallest of the three colonies. It points north-east and south-west, and is of oval shape, with a slight point at the north-east and a more decided point at the south-west. Its greatest length is 21 miles, and its maximum breadth 12 miles. Grenada is generally similar in its physical features to St. Lucia and St. Vincent, being traversed from north to south by a mountain range, the loftiest point in which, St. Catherine, is 2,500 feet high. There are cross ridges to the sea on east and west alike, but, as in St. Vincent, the slopes are more gradual and the country is more open on the eastern than on the western side; and in the south-east and north-east there are stretches of low or undulating ground, the former, with its rich alluvial soil, being devoted in great measure to fruit-growing in small allotments, while the comparatively dry north-eastern district is best adapted to cattle grazing. The sugar estates, far more numerous in the past than at present, are on the eastern side of the island, while the western valleys grow cocoa, which has been the great speciality of the colony. The soils of Grenada are very rich, it has been compared to Java in fertility, and its products have been noted as all of a high quality. The island has also great natural advantages in other respects, being out of the regular route of hurricanes, and,

in the words of the author of the *Caribby Islands*, 'well furnished with springs of fresh water and places of good anchorage for ships.' Its rivers are mainly on the east and south, the largest being the Great River, which rises in or near the Grand Étang, and takes a north-easterly course, finding its way to the sea on the eastern coast to the north of Grenville bay. The Grand Étang or Great Pond, one of the natural curiosities of Grenada, is a circular lake in the centre of the island, about 7 miles north-east of St. George's; it is said to be 13 acres in extent, and is 1,740 feet above the sea. It is apparently the site of an old crater, as is also the larger Lake Antoine in the north-east, which is inside a circle of hills, but at much the same level as the sea, the two lakes bearing evidence that Grenada, like the other Windward Islands, is of volcanic formation. The coast-line of Grenada is in some measure broken and indented, especially on the southern side. St. George's, the capital, a town, according to the last census, of 5,188 inhabitants, is on the western coast, towards its southern end. It is built on a peninsula running out into a large bay in a south-westerly direction and forming the northern side of a deep and secure though not very extensive harbour, which is surrounded by hills, and which, but for its small extent, would be one of the very best in the West Indies. The harbour is about half a mile in length, and under a quarter of a mile in breadth, and on its south-eastern side is a circular basin, known as the Lagoon, separated from the main anchorage by a bank of sand covered with coral growth, passable only by small boats. On the eastern or windward side of the island Grenville is the principal shipping-place, and at the extreme north is the village of Sauteurs.

St. Lucia has been reputed the hottest and unhealthiest of the three Windward Islands, but, as a matter of fact, its health statistics are rather more favourable than those of the other two colonies. Its character for unhealthiness has been earned owing to the prevalence of intermittent fever in the deep and thickly-

wooded valleys and mountain gorges. Its climate is said to differ little from that of St. Vincent, but the rainfall, though sometimes very heavy, is considerably lower on the average than that of the sister island, the annual mean being 88½ inches. The fertility of St. Lucia is beyond that of most West Indian islands, and it produces more sugar than the sister colony of St. Vincent. The export for 1903 was 3,885 tons, showing a decrease since 1902 of nearly 400 tons. There are four central sugar factories in the island, the first having been opened by government aid in 1875, and having for a long time been the only *usine* in the British West Indies. St. Lucia sugar has consequently been for the most part of better quality than that of the islands generally. In addition to sugar, molasses and rum have been exported in small quantities; cocoa is now being generally grown; and of the other products the most noticeable is the cassava, the flour of which, known as *farine manioc*, is the favourite food of the peasantry. Fuel-wood formed a considerable item in the value of the exports for 1903, but cannot be considered in the light of an established product.

One drawback to St. Lucia has been the poisonous snake, known under the name of the *Fer-de-lance*, but owing to the introduction and spread of the mongoose, it is now but rarely met with. This snake is found only in this island and the neighbouring, and in many respects similar, island of Martinique, the West Indian islands being on the whole remarkably free from pests of this description.

The total imports of the colony in 1903 were valued at £351,086, and the total exports at £169,489, including bunker coal valued at £63,506. About two-thirds of the imports come from Great Britain, and from British Colonies. The export trade is curiously irregular in its direction, but the amount taken by the United Kingdom has been steadily decreasing during the last fifteen years. In 1903 about one-fifth of the total exported produce of the colony went to France, and less than one-third to the mother-country.

The revenue of the colony for 1903-4 amounted to £66,009, and the expenditure to £70,692. The revenue is derived mainly from import dues, and an excise duty on rum. The latter has since 1882 been successfully collected under a system of heavy still licences, which have the effect of closing all the small stills, and make it possible to carefully supervise the working of the large stills, to which the manufacture is thus confined. The public debt is heavy, amounting to £167,880, incurred chiefly for public works, notably the improvement of Castries harbour.

The climate of St. Vincent, if somewhat damp, is very equable and, for the tropics, specially suited to Europeans. The mean daily temperature is 81° , and the average rainfall per annum is not less than 100 inches. The island seems to have suffered more constantly than its neighbours from hurricanes, one of these damaging storms having occurred as lately as 1898, which left 30,000 people homeless and did damage to property estimated at £225,000. Arrowroot is the chief staple of the colony, St. Vincent arrowroot bearing a special name. Cocoa has been planted of late years, and provisions are raised in abundance, and an effort is being made under the auspices of the Imperial Agricultural Department to establish a cotton industry. Sugar and arrowroot are the only two regular exports of the island, but the export of the former has fallen from 57,246 cwts. in 1897 to something less than 7,000 cwts. in 1903. It has been stated that the want of variety in the products grown for foreign markets is due to the accumulation of land in the hands of a very few firms, chiefly interested in the cultivation of the sugar-cane; and this is borne out by the great sensitiveness of the colonial revenue to bad times in the sugar trade. Of late years there has been much difficulty in maintaining a financial equilibrium. In 1903-4 the total receipts, including Imperial grant, only amounted to £26,516, being rather less than the expenditure of the year. About one-half of the revenue is derived from import duties, and the bulk of the remainder from

licences and excise, income and land taxes also contributing a small amount. The public debt on 31 March, 1904, amounted to £5,750, £5,000 having been repaid during the year 1901 out of the grant by the Imperial Government for this purpose. It was incurred partly to supply the capital with an improved water supply, partly to cover deficits in the revenue. Judged by statistics, the total trade of late years has been insignificant. The arrowroot is exported almost entirely to the British Isles, while two-thirds of the sugar is taken by the United States.

The climate of Grenada is perhaps, on the whole, pleasanter than that of the other two islands. The height of the central range is not so great as perpetually to collect rain clouds, and consequently the atmosphere is as a rule bright and dry. On the other hand, there is a sufficient extent of forest to preclude any prolonged droughts. The mean annual temperature is about 78°, and the rainfall, which varies a great deal in different districts, averages for the whole island about 79 inches per annum. Violent storms are rare, and although shocks of earthquake are felt every year, they are not usually severe.

Cocoa and spices are the leading products of Grenada. Its cocoa, which has been established as an industry for over a hundred years, ranks next in the English market to that of Trinidad and Venezuela. The value of this export in 1837 was £3,390, in 1903 it was more than £230,000. Some 21,000 acres, or about one-fourth of the whole area of the island, are computed to be under cocoa cultivation. There are some old plantations of valuable nutmeg trees; the cultivation of cinnamon, cardamoms, and other spices has been lately extending, and the new Botanic garden has given an impulse to the growth of coffee. Cotton and cotton seed are at present exclusively the production of Carriacou, the principal dependence of Grenada, the climate and weather conditions of which appear preeminently suitable for this product. Sugar growing is generally considered

a moribund industry in Grenada¹, many of the old sugar estates having been converted into cocoa plantations; sufficient rum, however, is distilled to supply the home consumption, and more than one-sixth of the whole revenue of the colony is derived from the excise duty thereon.

The abandonment of sugar estates has tended to the breaking up of large properties, and a class of peasant proprietors has arisen, who grow a considerable proportion of the cocoa exported from the colony. Better methods of cultivation and curing, however, have yet to be learnt by them, and greater facilities are still needed for carrying the produce from the interior to the various points of shipment along the coast.

Besides the excise already mentioned, the chief items of revenue are import duties, which yield fully one-half of the total, a land and house tax, and stamps. The revenue, which in 1903-4 amounted to £70,265, has more than maintained its level for many years without additional taxation; it has been ample for ordinary expenditure. The record of the year 1903 is one of continued progress, and, as indicated by a constantly recurring surplus, the island has of late years been one of the most prosperous in the West Indies. The public debt of the colony at the end of 1903 amounted to £123,670, incurred chiefly for public and parochial works, and a sinking fund is provided for its extinction in the year 1942. The exports for 1903, consisting chiefly of cocoa, were valued at £283,565, and the bulk of them, valued at £201,799, was sent to the United Kingdom. The imports for the same year were valued at £235,441, about half of which came from the British Isles. Thus the trade with the mother-country has reached larger

¹ Adam Smith, in the chapter on the 'Causes of the Prosperity of New Colonies,' quotes Grenada as an instance of the extent to which the commercial policy of Great Britain in the eighteenth century killed out the manufactures of the colonies. He says, 'While Grenada was in the hands of the French, there was a refinery of sugar, by claying at least, upon almost every plantation. Since it fell into those of the English, almost all works of this kind have been given up, and there are at present, October, 1773, I am assured, not above two or three remaining in the island.'

proportions in the case of Grenada than in that of any other West Indian colony.

Of the export trade to foreign countries the largest amount is with the United States, which claims about 96 per cent. of the import, and 75 per cent. of the export trade of Grenada with foreign countries. The trade with Canada continues to show a satisfactory increase.

The population of the three colonies, according to the 1901 census, was as follows :—

St. Lucia	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	49,883
St. Vincent	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	47,548 ¹
Grenada	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	42,403

The population of St. Lucia, which has more than doubled itself since 1851, is now said to number about 51,000, including about a thousand Indian immigrants, and nearly a third of the population is congregated in the towns and villages. The patois spoken by the peasantry, the bright tasteful dress of the women, and the great predominance of the Roman Catholic religion, all testify to its long French connexion. At the last census as many as 41,000 were returned as Roman Catholics, and grants, to the amount of £1,100 per annum, are still made out of the annual revenue to support the *curés*, who are mainly recruited from France.

The population of St. Vincent was estimated at 47,548 on April 7, 1901¹, mainly black or coloured, but including a few East Indians and Caribs. The last-named are to be found in the north-east of the island, the scene of the old Carib reserve, and are the expiring remnant of the race which held its own so long and sturdily in this island against European intruders. The Church of England was established in St. Vincent till 1870, and was only finally disendowed in 1889. At the last census²

¹ Estimate only. No census was taken in 1901 on account of the expense involved. It is generally considered that these figures are inaccurate and reducible by about 15 per cent.

² 1891.

about half the population were members of the Church of England, and more than one-third were Wesleyans.

At the 1901 census the population of the colony of Grenada, including Carriacou, numbered 477 to the square mile. It appears to be rapidly increasing, and the total is now estimated at nearly 66,000. Most of the inhabitants are coloured, and there are some 2,200 East Indians, the result of coolie immigration in past years. The people are mainly peasant proprietors; they speak to a great extent a French patois; more than one-half are Roman Catholics, and one-third are members of the now disestablished Church of England.

Education is in a somewhat backward state in the Windward Islands. In St. Lucia there are no purely government schools, but all schools receive grants in aid. In 1891 the trustees of the Lady Mico charity¹, whose schools were established over fifty years ago, withdrew their connexion with the colony, and closed the eleven schools they had up till then maintained. In 1902 there were 42 schools, 22 of which were maintained by the Roman Catholics and three by the Anglican community. Secondary education is provided for by the St. Mary's College for boys, and the St. Joseph's Convent School for girls. In St. Vincent there are over thirty primary schools, mostly denominational, there is a grammar school at Kingstown, and an agricultural school was established in 1900 under the auspices of the Imperial Department of Agriculture. In Grenada out of forty-two schools nine are conducted by the government. Government schools were first established in this island in 1886, and are showing good results. There is also a small grammar school for boys in the town of St. George's which is subsidized by the government.

¹ An account of this charity is given in the *Handbook of Jamaica*. A sum of £1,000 left by a Lady Mico in 1670 for the redemption of Christian slaves from the Moors accumulated to a large amount; and in 1834, at the instance of Sir T. Fowell Buxton, the interest was applied to the object of giving Christian instruction to children in the colonies where slavery had existed.

The Windward Islands are not, like Barbados and the majority of the Leeward Islands, British by long inheritance and by generations of settlement. They are comparatively modern acquisitions, belonging to Great Britain in virtue of wars and treaties, but bearing in their traditions, in their local names, and, as regards St. Lucia and Grenada, in the patois of their inhabitants, the marks of French occupation. All three are rich and beautiful islands. St. Lucia is interesting as the most hardly lost and most hardly won dependency in the West Indies. The story of the long struggle for its ownership is bright with the names of great Englishmen, such as Rodney, Moore, and Abercromby; and its harbour, for which the fight was waged, still gives it a special character and special value among West Indian islands. The past of St. Vincent, more than that of any other island, is bound up with the records of the native inhabitants of the West Indies, for here, to the end of the eighteenth century, the Caribs were strong and dangerous. Finally, the present statistics of Grenada mark it out as the one British island of any size in all the Caribbean sea which has succeeded in emancipating itself from that exclusive devotion to the sugar-cane which has proved the bane of many of its less fortunate neighbours.

BOOKS, ETC., RELATING TO THE WINDWARD ISLANDS.

There are but few books specially relating to these islands, among which BREEN'S *St. Lucia* (1844) deserves special mention, and the useful little *Grenada Handbook* compiled by the Colonial Secretary, and published annually by Messrs. Sampson Low & Co., should not be overlooked. See also the similar *Handbook for St. Lucia*, compiled by E. G. GARRAWAY.

Of official publications reference should be made to the Blue Book Reports on St. Lucia and St. Vincent for the year 1845, and to the Reports on the Forests of all the three islands and Carriacou made in 1886 and 1887 by Mr. E. D. M. Hooper of the Indian Forest Department. New maps of these islands are much wanted.

CHAPTER VII

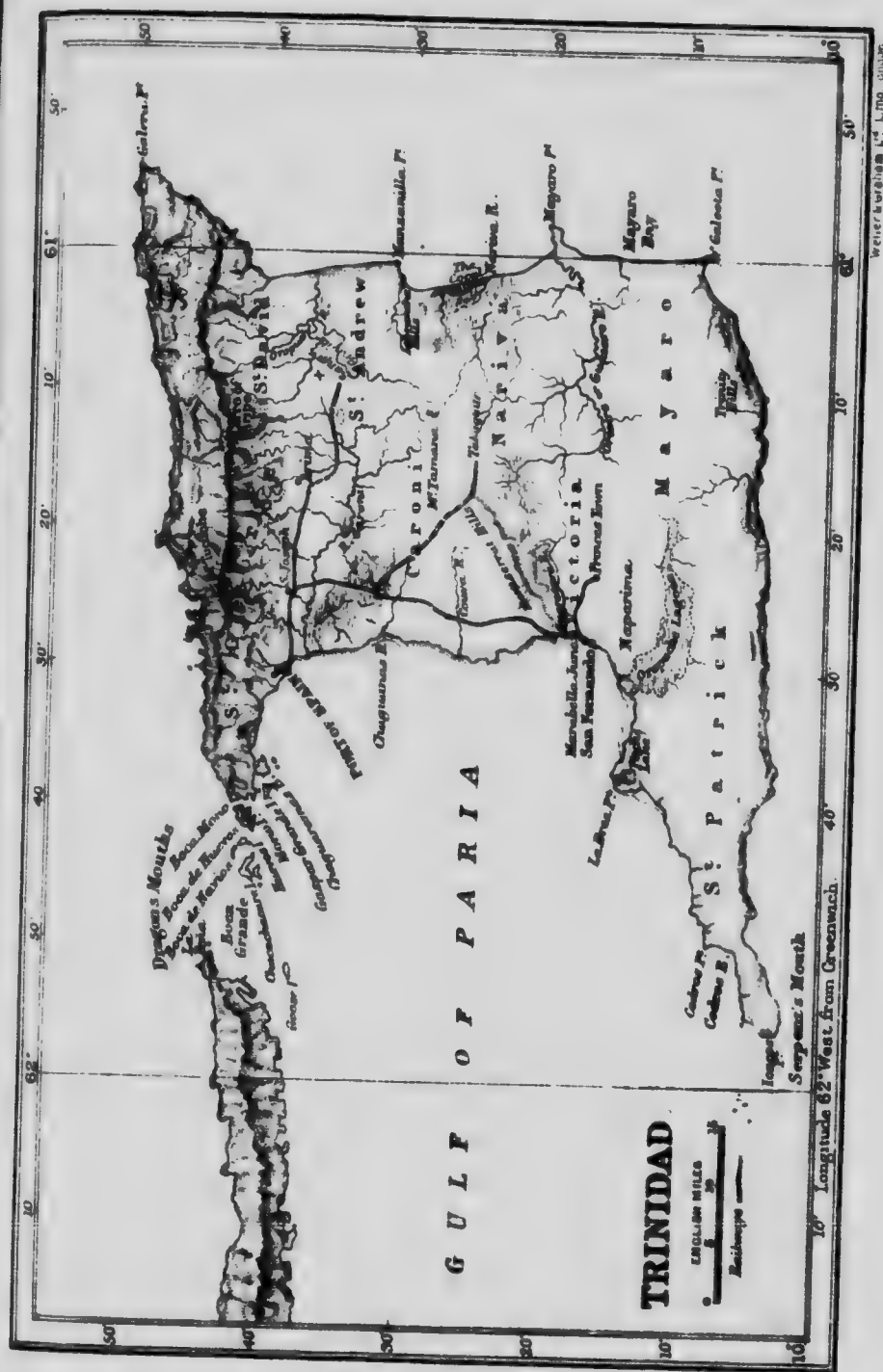
TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

TRINIDAD

THE record of the Windward Islands is a record of British or French colonization, but in passing on to Trinidad, an island of far larger size and lying close to the continent, we come again within the range of Spanish occupation and, to a certain extent, of Spanish settlement.

In May, 1498, Columbus set out on his third voyage, determined to work further to the south than before, and to explore the regions of the equator. He resolved to name whatever land he first sighted after the Trinity, and when at length in the distance one of his sailors saw, or thought he saw, three mountain tops, he steered for them in gladness and pious gratitude, and called the name of the place Trinidad. The point of the coast for which he made was the south-eastern corner, which he named La Galera, but which is now known as Cape Galeota¹. Passing on to westward in search of an anchorage, he came to on the southern side of the island, where he was in view of the mainland at the mouth of the Orinoco, and first set eyes on the great American continent. Again sailing westward, he reached the south-westernmost point of Trinidad, naming it Point Arenal (now Point Icacos), and then, passing through the strait which here divides the island from the mainland, and which from its dangerous currents he called Boca del Sierpe—'Serpent's mouth'—he entered the great landlocked

¹ He called it La Galera 'from the likeness of a little rocky islet near it to a galley in full sail' (Helps). The name was afterwards transferred to the north-eastern cape of Trinidad. For the discovery of Trinidad see Washington Irving's *Life and Voyages of Columbus*, and Helps's *Spanish Conquest in America*.



Gulf of Paria. Here he coasted along the American shore, treated with the Indians, obtained from them specimens of pearls, which subsequently rivalled the gold of Hispaniola in bringing over to the New World all the scoundrels of Spain, and finally, sailed out into the open ocean by the northern strait, which, as even more terrifying than the southern, he named Boca del Dragon—'Dragon's mouth.'

After a long and dangerous voyage, under the heat of a vertical sun, Columbus was likely to give a favourable account of the first land which he reached, and the more so as he expected the heat to be more intense and the ground more parched the nearer he drew to the equator. Hence he described with delight the fresh green of the well-wooded and well-watered island, comparing it to the province of Valencia in the months of spring. He noticed too the fine physique of the natives, different from the negro type which he had expected, and he found them, what Sir Robert Dudley a hundred years later described them to be, 'a fine shaped and a gentle people'.¹ Thus he gave Trinidad to the world with a good character in all respects, and Europeans first knew it as a fertile, inhabited, and partially cultivated island.

The native inhabitants of Trinidad were no doubt of the same stock as those of the adjoining mainland, but there appear to have been more than one race or family in the island. Raleigh speaks of Trinidad as 'being called by the people thereof Cairi²,' and as containing divers nations, the Iaio, Arwacas, and others. In the account of Laurence Keymis's voyage mention is made of 'the Iaos, who are a mighty people, and of a late time were lords of all the sea-coast so far as Trinidad, which they likewise possessed'.³ Whoever they were, they appear, like the inhabitants of Hispaniola, not to have been Caribs, for Dudley says that the latter were 'man-eaters or

¹ From *The Voyage of Sir Robert Duddelley* [Hakluyt].

² From *The discoverie of Guiana*.

³ From *The second voyage to Guiana*, by Laurence Keymis [Hakluyt].

cannibals, and great enemies to the islanders of Trinidad¹. Had they been Caribs, as sturdy and savage as the natives of Dominica or St. Vincent, they would have made short work of the few Spaniards who found their way to Trinidad, for the chronicle of Spanish doings² in this island, as in Jamaica, is little more than a blank—a bare record of profitless possession without effective settlement. As the attractions of Cuba, Hispaniola, and Mexico left Jamaica in the shade, so the riches of the Pearl Coast overshadowed an island which was near to, but not directly over against, the fishing-grounds; and for the best part of three centuries it lay fallow, possibly to the advantage of its after time.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century the Spaniards appear to have resorted to Trinidad for man-stealing, and an account is given by Las Casas³ of a horrible raid made on the natives, about 1510, by one Juan Bono, a slave-catcher in the employ of the authorities of Hispaniola. About 1532 a more definite attempt was made to conquer the Indians and form a colony by a man named Sedeño, who obtained a royal licence for that purpose as well as the appointment of Governor and Captain-General of the island. He built a fort, but met with resistance from the natives, and though, in consequence, a decree was issued by the Council of the Indies declaring it to be lawful to make war upon the Indians and reduce them to slavery, his followers drifted away to the mainland, and his scheme came to nothing. In 1577 or 1584, for different dates are given, the settlement of St. Joseph was founded, said to have been called after a Spaniard named Don Josef de Oruña. Like

¹ Humboldt, however, in the narrative of his travels, speaks of the Iaoi of the island of Trinidad as a tribe of the Carib race. Dudley states that he traded with the Indians and Simerones of the island. For Simerones see above, p. 104, note 2. One of the tribes of Trinidad is said to have borne the name of Chayma; this word in Joseph's *History of Trinidad* is spelt Chima, which suggests the same origin as Simerones.

² In 1499, the year after Columbus discovered Trinidad, it was reached by another Spanish voyager, Ojeda, who had Amerigo Vespucci on board his ships.

³ See Helps, vol. ii. bk. ix. chap. 1.

Spanish Town in Jamaica, St. Joseph is some miles distant from the sea, for the colonists, few in number and conscious of their weakness, chose for their resting-place an inland site, out of the way of foreign freebooters and buccaneers. Their outlet to the sea was where the present capital now stands. There at the place, 'which the Spaniards call Puerto de los Espannoles and the inhabitants Conquerabia¹,' Raleigh found a small guard of soldiers, whom he put to the sword; and a letter written in 1611 by Sir Thomas Roe², which is dated Port d'Espagne, describes the Spaniards of the spot as proud and insolent, yet needy and weak.

Towards the end of the sixteenth century the settlers in Trinidad had need to beware of English privateers. In 1595 Sir Robert Dudley visited the island, and marched across it from coast to coast. In the same year a greater sea-captain, Sir Walter Raleigh, came there on his way to explore the banks of the Orinoco and to search for the fabled riches of Guiana. He noted the Port 'called by the naturals Piche and by the Spaniards Tierra de Brea¹,' he caulked his ships with the pitch which he found there, and, leading his men up country from Port of Spain, he set the new town of St. Joseph on fire. The next year came Laurence Keymis, so that, before the century closed, Trinidad, its advantages and its weakness were well known to Englishmen².

The island was included in the grant to the Earl of Montgomery in 1628³, and, though the Spanish ownership can hardly have been seriously disputed, the *Calendar of State Papers* gives some indications of English claims and hints of English settle-

¹ From *The discoverie of Guiana*.

² See the *Calendar of State Papers*.

³ Before the end of the sixteenth century Trinidad tobacco had made a mark in European markets, for Ben Jonson mentions it in *Every Man in his Humour* [act iii. sc. 2].

'Tis your right Trinidado.'

This play was first put on the stage in 1595 or 1596. See the note in the 1875 edition [Gifford and Cunningham].

⁴ See above, p. 174.

ment. In 1643 the Earl of Warwick speaks of 'my island of Trinidad,' and between 1643 and 1647 an abortive attempt appears to have been made to found a British colony on its shores, the colonists being drawn, as in other cases, from Barbados and the Bermudas. It may well have seemed a suitable field for British enterprise, considering how large the island is and how few were its Spanish occupants, for the number of Spaniards at St. Joseph about the year 1666 were numbered at hardly more than one hundred. Possibly if Cromwell had not taken Jamaica, he, or some other strong-handed Englishman, might have taken Trinidad, but, when the English became masters of one large Spanish island, they cared less to possess themselves of another which lay more out of their beat. About 1640 the Dutch are said to have invaded Trinidad, about 1677 it was plundered by some French buccaneers, and in 1690 it was again attacked by the French. Considering how near Trinidad is to Guiana, it seems at first sight strange that the Netherlands did not make more determined efforts to possess themselves of a colony so ill-defended by their hereditary foes; but the Dutch were really true to their own traditions in leaving Trinidad alone except on the one occasion referred to above. In the West Indies they liked to own small islands and to be near large ones, hence Tobago had more attractions for them than Trinidad. Further, Trinidad was too far east for tapping the Spanish main, off which they held the island of Curaçoa; and it was rather too far west to be of much use for the development of Guiana. So the island drifted on in Spanish hands, only not in decay because it never had known great prosperity. The Indians decreased in numbers, the survivors of slavery and persecution living in villages and missions and paying a poll-tax to the government. Negro slaves grew cocoa for a handful of white settlers; and subject first to the authority of the Viceroy of New Granada, subsequently to that of the Captain-General of Caracas, the colony was administered by a governor.

assisted by the 'Cabildo,' a small corporate body which, after exercising for many years a combination of judicial, municipal, legislative, and administrative powers, was transformed by an ordinance of 1840 into the Town Council of Port of Spain.

For a while, at the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century, the cultivation of cocoa gave some good years to the colony; but about 1725 or 1727 a blight fell on the plantations, and great depression followed, aggravated by squabbles between succeeding governors and their councils. At length in 1780 Trinidad awoke out of sleep. A Frenchman from Grenada, St. Laurent by name, had visited the island two years before, and had noted its possibilities as a field of emigration. He induced the Spanish government to publish a decree, encouraging foreigners to come in and settle; and immigrants began to arrive from the Caribbean islands, most of them French, a few Irish. A further decree was issued in 1783¹, the year of the peace of Versailles, setting out at length the terms on which foreigners would be admitted. These terms were singularly liberal, except that Catholics alone were given the benefit of them. Free grants were issued of thirty-two acres to each white man, and half that quantity to each free black man, with half as much again in either case for every slave possessed. The colonists were to be free of taxation for ten years; and, while they were required to take the oath of allegiance to the King of Spain, they were given the benefit of naturalization after five years' residence. A liberal-minded governor, Don Josef Maria Chacon, was sent out to carry the decree into effect; and the result of it was that the population of the island, which in 1783 was under 3,000, in 1797 numbered nearly 18,000.

As Catholics, however, alone were admitted under the decree, although the provision was not strictly enforced by the tolerant Spanish governor, English settlers were for the most part

¹ Joseph's *History of Trinidad*, which is here followed, states that there were two cedulas or decrees, one in 1780 or 1781, the other in 1783.

excluded; and the French element was further encouraged by an article favourably regulating trade with the French West Indian Islands, without specifying those belonging to Great Britain. Again, as the amount of land granted was in proportion to the number of slaves possessed, kidnapping of black men from other islands became so prevalent that a clause in a Grenada act passed in 1784 was directed specially against the practice. Lastly, the governor is said to have exempted new settlers from suits for debts incurred prior to arrival, so that Trinidad was well described in the words of the Grenada law as 'the very spot which holds out a retreat for fraudulent debtors and stealers of slaves, and where no redress or justice can be obtained.' Thus the policy of the scheme in its actual working was to populate a Spanish island mainly with Frenchmen, to bring in doubtful characters from other parts of the West Indies, and to set a special premium on slave-holding.

In this same memorable year Port of Spain became the seat of government in place of St. Joseph, the change from the inland town to the seaport marking the increased importance of the latter in consequence of the development of trade. But, though Trinidad was now colonized as it had never been before, the increase of population brought little but trouble to the power which nominally owned it. There was no love lost between the Spanish families, with their traditions of aristocratic indolence, and the new French immigrants who intruded into their lands, and who brought with them advanced Republican doctrines; the French sympathies of the mass of the population embroiled the colony with the English; and finally, when Spain herself had been forced by Napoleon into war with Great Britain, she paid for it by the loss of Trinidad.

In 1796 a fracas broke out between the new colonists and the men of a small British squadron, which had just before broken up a band of French privateers in the Gulf of Paria; the commodore rashly landed a force, in the vain attempt

to punish the French wrong-doers while respecting the Spanish authorities; and, though he was induced to withdraw his troops before an actual conflict took place, his proceedings served as one of the pretexts on which Spain was compelled a few months afterwards to declare war against Great Britain. The end then soon came. On the twelfth of February, 1797, a large British expedition was sent from Martinique to reduce the island, Abercromby being in command of the troops, and having Picton for his aide-de-camp. The Spanish admiral, whose squadron was guarding Port of Spain, burnt his ships instead of fighting; the garrison was weak; the feeling of the Spaniards towards the French was too bitter to make them whole-hearted in a war not of their own seeking; and, after a mere show of resistance, liberal articles of capitulation were signed on the eighteenth of February, under which Trinidad became a dependency of Great Britain, the concession being confirmed by the peace of Amiens in 1802.

Abercromby left Picton to govern the island, and he ruled it with a strong hand. His task was no easy one. He succeeded to Chacon, a mild and amiable ruler, in whose time the inhabitants of Trinidad in great measure did every man that which was right in his own eyes. With only a weak garrison to back him, he had to control a population composed of mixed and conflicting elements, Spaniards, French, negroes for the most part newly imported from Africa or sold as a good riddance out of other West Indian colonies, and South American half-breeds, to whom Trinidad was, what Hong-Kong is to the Chinese, a place of refuge for law-breakers on the continent. A reward was offered for his head by the Spanish governors on the mainland, and for a while, at any rate, he was kept in constant danger of invasion and revolt.

After the peace of Amiens had formally annexed Trinidad to the British Empire, the Addington ministry, which had lately come into office, determined to entrust the government of the island to three commissioners—a civil, a military, and a naval

officer. Colonel Fullarton, of Indian experience, was appointed as the civilian and was placed first, while Picton and Sir Samuel Hood were the military and naval commissioners. It is difficult to imagine an arrangement more likely to have caused friction, and more unfair to Picton, who was thus superseded without being recalled. Fullarton arrived in January, 1803, and after a short period of violent quarrel, in which Hood supported Picton, the last-named officer left in the following June.

Various charges were brought against him by his colleague, and resulted in proceedings recalling, on a smaller scale, the trial of Warren Hastings. He was tried by the court of King's Bench in 1806 on the charge of having allowed a girl accused of theft to be put to the torture; the case was re-tried in 1808, and an open verdict was given in 1810. Meanwhile the more general charges against him were inquired into by the Privy Council, who reported in his favour in 1807. It is stated that he violated one of the articles of capitulation which safeguarded the rights of the coloured inhabitants, and that he allowed cruel means to be employed to put down the practice of obeah among the negroes. But, of whatever arbitrary acts he may have been guilty, it must be remembered that he was a soldier, placed to rule a community which was almost in a state of anarchy, and which had always been accustomed to Spanish law. Under Spanish law torture was permissible, and in the case, which was made the principal charge against him, it appears to have been applied in little more than name. It is beyond question that, while he was a terror to evil-doers, he was respected and esteemed by the better class of inhabitants as a strong and an honest man. He raised and organized a militia, which of itself implied confidence between the ruler and the ruled; under him the population of the colony grew from less than 18,000 in 1797 to over 28,000 in 1802; after between two and three years' experience of his government, at the end of 1799, the Spanish inhabitants of Trinidad

petitioned not to be given back to Spain; when he left they gave him a sword of honour; and, while his long trial was draining his own and his relatives' resources, they sent him no less than £4,000¹.

The nineteenth century brought greater changes and wider development to Trinidad than to most other parts of the West Indies. As has been seen, it had never been a field of colonization to any appreciable extent till 1783; it was therefore no worn-out island when it came into British keeping, but a land to be opened up, tilled, and populated, to be transformed from a sleepy Spanish dependency into a thriving British colony.

Picton had established a council of advice consisting of five of the most influential inhabitants, three of them being Irishmen, one a Frenchman, and only one a Spaniard. This council was the embryo of the subsequent Legislative Council, which in 1831 was made to consist of six official and six unofficial members, nominated by the Crown and presided over by the Governor. British law and procedure were gradually substituted for Spanish, the criminal law of England, with trial by jury, being introduced in 1844. In 1849, while Lord Harris was governor, the island was divided, for administrative purposes, into counties, districts, and wards, and in 1853 Port of Spain and San Fernando were fully incorporated as boroughs and given municipal institutions. Meanwhile the abolition of slavery had taken place, the number of slaves in 1834 amounting to 20,657, and it was necessary to supply the labour market from other sources. As early as 1806 a few Chinese had been imported, and, subsequently to emancipation, a stream of immigrants was poured into the island, West Indians, liberated Africans, Chinese, and most of all East Indian coolies, the first shipload of whom arrived in 1845. The Colonization Circular of 1877 (the last issued) states, 'the number of immigrants into

¹ He returned the money on hearing of the distress caused by the burning down of Port of Spain in 1802.

the colony from all sources between 1843 and 1875 inclusive was 84,731. Of these 68,662 were from India, 2,645 from China, 6,375 from Africa, 6,105 from the West Indies, and 944 from other places.' Thus the population of the island, which in 1834 amounted all told to 43,613, ten years later numbered 60,000, and, growing since that date by leaps and bounds, has shown how much can be made out of a fertile island by British rule and Indian labour.

Trinidad, with which Tobago is now combined¹, has always been governed as a Crown Colony. The Governor is assisted by an Executive Council of six members; and the Legislative Council, over which he presides, contains twenty members in addition to himself. Ten of them are officials, and the unofficial members are nominated by the Crown and hold their seats for five years. By a recent arrangement each unofficial member is nominated in respect of a special division of the colony, and thus the interests of all classes are represented in the legislature. There are three municipal boroughs in Trinidad, levying local rates and controlling local expenditure; they are Port of Spain (since 1899 under the control of four commissioners appointed by the Governor), San Fernando, and Arima.

The law of the island, while still retaining Spanish elements, is now in the main a codification of English Common Law altered and extended by local ordinances; and the law of real property has been amended in the direction of the Australian system of title by registration. Justice is administered by a Supreme Court consisting of the Chief Justice and two Puisne Judges, and, as regards minor cases including civil jurisdiction up to the value of £10, by the Courts of the stipendiary magistrates, of whom there are nine, stationed in different districts of the island.

The area of Trinidad is 1,754 square miles. It is thus somewhat smaller than Lancashire. The island is of rectangular

¹ Tobago was made a ward of Trinidad on January 1, 1899.

shape¹, standing off the South American coast and the delta of the Orinoco. Its average length from north to south is said to be 48 miles, and its average breadth 35 miles, but the promontories which jut out at its four corners, and which caused the shape of the island to be in old times compared to an outstretched ox-hide, make the greatest breadth considerably in excess of the greatest length. Of these promontories Galeota Point at the south-east is only a small peninsula; the north-eastern arm, ending in Point Galera, is a projection on a much larger scale; while the north-western and south-western promontories are well-defined arms of land, extended towards the continent and embracing the land-locked Gulf of Paria. The north-western peninsula runs due west, and breaks off into the islands of the Bocas, lying in line towards the South American coast; and between the westernmost of these islands, Chacachacare by name, and the long Venezuelan promontory which in turn stretches out towards Trinidad, is a channel some 7 miles wide, being the chief northern entrance to the Gulf of Paria and the broadest of the Bocas—the Dragon's mouths. The total distance between the coast of Trinidad and La Pena point in Venezuela is about 13 miles, and the two hilly promontories with the islands between them were clearly joined at no very distant date.

The south-western peninsula, much the longest of all the four, ends in Point Icacos, from which the mainland is only some 10 miles distant, divided by the channel of the Serpent's Mouth, the southern entrance to the Gulf of Paria.

The shores of Trinidad are wanting in deep bays and estuaries, and the northern, southern, and eastern sides of the island are in great measure harbourless. The northern coast is rock-bound, the sea along the southern coast is shallow in most parts, and the eastern coast, though composed in great measure

¹ Raleigh did not form a very accurate idea of the shape of the island. He says: 'This island of Trinedado hath the form of a sheep-hook, and is but narrow.'

of long strips of low-lying sandy beach, is so exposed to the surf of the Atlantic, that, in the words of the *West India Pilot*, it may almost be termed unapproachable¹. Even in the semi-circle of the western side there are few well-defined breaks in the coast-line, and the water near the land is in most places shallow. There is, however, one good natural port at Chaguanas in the extreme north-west, where there is deep water in a land-locked bay; and the general absence of harbours is compensated for by the fact that the whole Gulf of Paria is so shut in between Trinidad and the continent as itself to constitute one great secure anchorage.

The geographical outline of Trinidad is simple and regular. There are three ranges of hills or mountains, running roughly from east to west, and marking off between them two plains or river basins. Each of these basins again is divided into two by a rise in the land from north to south, forming a water-parting between the streams which run to the eastern and those which run to the western sea.

The northernmost of the three ridges, lining the northern shore, is the highest, the boldest, and the most continuous. In it the Tucuche rises to 3,000 feet, and the Cerro de Aripo to more than 2,700. The central range runs in a south-westerly direction from Manzanilla point on the eastern coast to the neighbourhood of San Fernando on the western, the western section being known as the Montserrat hills. The highest point in this range is Tamana, near the centre of the island, which rises to slightly over 1,000 feet. The southern range runs, in more or less broken fashion, parallel and near to the southern coast, dying away to the westward towards the promontory of Icacos. Its highest points, only about 700 feet high, are the Three Sisters, near the eastern end of the southern coast, famous as being by tradition the three points which first caught the eye of Columbus and earned for the island its name of Trinidad.

The rivers of the island are many in number, but of no great

¹ At Mayaro, however, there is a good deal of shipping business.

importance and of little use for navigation. All the streams of any size run east or west, and while those which run to the east end in sand-bars caused by the opposing swell of the Atlantic, those which run west into the Gulf of Paria end in shallows. The main watercourses in the plain between the northern and the central range are those of the Caroni and Couva rivers and their tributaries on the western side, and of the Oropuche and its tributaries on the eastern. The western section of the plain between the central and the southern mountains drains in great measure into the Guaracaro river and the Oropuche lagoon, while in the eastern section is the Nariva swamp, and south of it the Ortoire or Guataro river, the largest river in Trinidad.

The colony is divided into eight counties, four north of the central range, four south of it. The two northernmost counties, St. George on the west, St. David on the east, extend from the northern sea to the Caroni and Oropuche rivers, including beautiful mountain slopes and valleys rich in cocoa plantations. The county of St. George, which takes in the north-western promontory and the islands of the Bocas, visited and described by Charles Kingsley, is the metropolitan county, containing both the present and the past capitals of the island. Port of Spain, which is at once the seat of government and the trade centre of Trinidad, and whose population in 1901 amounted to 54,100, stands in the angle where the north-western arm runs out from the main body of the island, and faces west and south-west over the Gulf of Paria towards the South American continent. It is low-lying, built at the southern corner of a small plain formed by two mountain spurs running from the main range to the sea; it has no harbour, properly speaking, but, if the water is too shallow to allow large ships to come near to the shore, it is so smooth and free from storms that cargo is easily landed at the quays. From Port of Spain a railway is carried due east for 29 miles to Arima, formerly the scene of an Indian mission, and Sangre Grande; the line runs parallel to and at the base of the mountain range, and taps a rich cocoa-growing district. Six

miles out from the capital, near the little town of St. Joseph, which was in old days the chief Spanish settlement of Trinidad, another line branches off towards the south, and is carried for some 35 miles through the western plains of the island to the coast town of San Fernando. At Jerningham junction a branch runs south-west to Tabuquito, and at Marabella junction, one and a half miles to the north of San Fernando, another branch runs inland east and south to Princes Town, in the rich Naparima district, the total length of the railways in Trinidad being about 80 miles, all constructed and worked by the government. There are also 7 miles of tramways or light railways between San Fernando and Savana Grande.

Due south of St. George and St. David are the two counties of Caroni and St. Andrew, on the west and east respectively. Caroni county lies between the Caroni river and the Montserrat hills, and is traversed by the railway from Port of Spain to San Fernando. It is low-lying and consists of swamps and savannas, drained by various rivers, the Caroni, the Chaguanas, the Couva, and others. Along the Caroni river are cocoa plantations, and further south the land is laid out in sugar-canes, while in the south-east the ground rises to the Montserrat hills, with a soil well adapted for cocoa. The county of St. Andrew has a larger extent of high land, running into the Lebranche hills on the eastern coast near Point Manzanilla. Its soil is rich: but all the eastern side of Trinidad is less opened up than the western, being bounded, as already pointed out, by an almost harbourless coast.

In the southern division of the island are the four counties of Victoria, Nariva, St. Patrick, and Mayaro. The important agricultural county of Victoria on the western side of the island is due south of Caroni, taking in on the north the greater part of the Montserrat hills and on the south the Oropuche lagoon. Between them is the main sugar-growing district of the colony, the Naparimas and Savana Grande, and on the coast at the foot of Naparima hill is San Fernando, the second town in the

island, with a population according to the last census of 7,613. The county of Nariva is on the east between St. Andrew and the Ortoire river. It is but little developed and thinly populated; the Nariva swamp occupies a large part of its area, and, as regards products, its main feature is the Cocal, a long narrow belt of coco-nut palms lining the coast for many miles. This belt belongs to the municipality of Port of Spain, but is now being offered for sale.

The two southernmost counties are St. Patrick on the west, Mayaro on the east. They take in the southern range of hills, and the south-western, southern, and south-eastern sea coasts. Coco palms grow well along the shore, especially at the south-eastern corner and in the low-lying peninsula of Cedros at the extreme south-west; and the county of St. Patrick contains in the far-famed Pitch Lake of La Brea one hundred and four acres of half-solid asphalt¹, the greatest natural curiosity in Trinidad.

The climate of Trinidad is damper and closer than that of the more northern islands, but is by no means hurtful to Europeans provided reasonable precautions are taken. The mean temperature for 1903 was 78.9° with a variation of 18° only, and the average annual rainfall is 66.26 inches. Its insular position renders it less liable to extreme heat than the neighbouring portion of the continent, while the prevailing wind during the dry season is easterly and cool. The island is fortunate in being just outside the hurricane and cyclone regions; there are no volcanic eruptions, no earthquakes worth mentioning, violent storms are rare, and cases of sunstroke almost unknown. With these advantages it is not surprising that Trinidad is becoming a winter resort for European and American visitors. The means of transit and hotel accommodation have greatly improved of recent years, with the result of a noticeable increase in the number of visitors to the island.

The fertility of the soil is not surpassed in the West Indies,

¹ For a description of the Pitch Lake see Kingsley's *At Last*.

and the belt of flat coast land which lies between Port of Spain and San Fernando is one of the finest sugar tracts in the world. Owing to the depressed state of the industry the quantity exported has steadily declined, the 40,384 tons, valued at £435,931, exported in 1903-4, being some 7,000 tons less than in the previous year. The Brussels Convention for the abolition of the Sugar Bounties will, it is hoped, assist in some measure to rehabilitate the industry in Trinidad as elsewhere. On the other hand, cocoa shows a marked advance, and now heads the list of exports. The value exported in 1903-4 was £1,062,417, or nearly one-half of the total export trade. Next to a few favoured estates in Venezuela, Trinidad produces the finest cocoa in the world¹, grown especially along the line of the mountain range which runs parallel with the north side of the island.

Of the minor industries to which attention has been lately directed, coco-nuts come first in order of time, the average export for three years' past having been over ten millions of nuts per annum, valued at £17,180. Experiments have lately been tried in tobacco cultivation, perhaps the oldest industry in the island², and the output now is about 50,000 lb. per annum, the whole of which is consumed locally, but the product is of an inferior quality, although there are not wanting indications that with careful cultivation a fine grade of cigar tobacco can be produced. An attempt has also been made by a syndicate to develop the fruit trade of the colony, apparently with a fair prospect of success.

The well-known Angostura bitters are for the most part manufactured in Trinidad, and add a not inconsiderable item to its exports.

Asphalt represents the principal mineral wealth of the colony. This industry is almost entirely in the hands of one firm, which has the lease of the pitch lake at La Brea, paying an annual sum

¹ Ceylon cocoa, however, is now said to be rivalling the cocoa of Trinidad in quality.

² See above, p. 237, note 3.

of £10,000 and a royalty upon the output in excess of 30,000 tons¹. The output for 1903-4 was reckoned at 192,220 tons, valued at £204,126. A new industry has been started for the extraction of petroleum, or 'pitch oil,' at Guayaguayare, in connexion with which a large sum of money has been invested in laying down machinery, which promises to prove a successful undertaking. Manjak or glance pitch is also found in the Naparima district. Coal has long been known to exist in various parts of the island, and recent analyses have yielded satisfactory results.

Trinidad has a considerable trade with Europe as well as with the United States, and it is the natural *entrepôt* for trade with Venezuela. The last-named traffic, however, chiefly consisting of dry goods, has been seriously injured by a differential duty levied by the Venezuelan government, over and above ordinary duties, on all goods arriving from West Indian Colonies. A mass of bullion from the Venezuelan mines formerly passed through Trinidad and appeared in the import and export returns, but the amount has decreased considerably in the last few years.

The value of the imports to and the exports from the countries with which the trade of the colony chiefly lies were in 1903-4 as follows:—

	Imports from.	Exports to.
Great Britain	£944,804	£603,981
United States	£675,769	£945,282
France	£81,193	£322,787
Venezuela	£133,787	£200,428

from which it appears that the total trade with the mother-country is but little less than that with the United States, though, on the other hand, the tonnage of ships clearing for the States is much larger than that of ships trading direct to Great Britain.

Judged by the revenue returns Trinidad may fairly claim to be one of the most flourishing of the West Indian Colonies of

¹ The lease has been extended for 21 years from Feb. 1909, on payment of an additional £4,000 per annum for each year of such extension.

Great Britain. The island has not suffered to the same extent as others from the late years of depression in the sugar trade. On the contrary, the following figures show that the revenue has expanded with marked steadiness :—

	Revenue.
1900 . . .	£698,939
1901-2 ¹ . . .	£712,395
1902-3 . . .	£788,404
1903-4 . . .	£804,440

The revenue is raised mainly by import duties, the tariff of which is lighter than that of any other British colony in the West Indies with the exception of Turks Islands, and by an excise duty on rum, with the accompanying spirit licence. The royalty on asphalt is a considerable source of revenue, and a land and house tax yields an appreciable amount. Certain export duties are levied, but are applied solely to meet the expenses of coolie immigration. The public debt of the colony, incurred principally for construction of railways, amounted at the end of 1903-4 to £1,098,913, while the total accumulation towards the sinking fund amounted to £75,292.

At the census of 1901 the population of Trinidad amounted to 255,148, giving 145 inhabitants to the square mile. There is more variety of race in this island than in any other of His Majesty's West Indian possessions. The white inhabitants, who form a larger proportion of the population than is usually the case in the West Indies, include English and Scotch settlers, descendants of French and Corsican families, and a Spanish element, composed partly of old island families, but still more of Venezuelans who appreciate the advantages of a British colony as a place of residence. Among the coloured inhabitants fully one-third are East Indian immigrants, first introduced into the island in 1845, who now number over 86,000 persons, and are still being imported at the rate of about 2,500 per annum.

¹ The financial year was changed so as to close on March 31 in each year.

Of Christian sects the Roman Catholics are far the most numerous. Primary education, which has from time to time been the subject of heated controversy, is at present provided for by a large number of government and assisted schools, the latter being mainly Roman Catholic and Anglican; while the requirements of a higher education are met by the Queen's Royal College and the affiliated St. Mary's Roman Catholic College and Naparima College, all of which are largely supported from public funds. The pupils of the Royal College compete annually for three exhibitions of the value of £600 each, tenable at any University or recognized educational institution at home or abroad.

On March 23, 1903, a deplorable riot took place, the outcome of popular dissatisfaction with a proposed new Water Works Ordinance; during which the government buildings, a fine block known as the Red House, in which were situated many of the public offices, were destroyed by fire; all records except those contained in the fire-proof vaults of the Registrar-General being consumed. The prompt assistance rendered by His Majesty's ships *Pallas* and *Rocket*, which were fortunately at anchor in the harbour, prevented further disorders, but not before a lamentable loss of life had occurred. A Commission of Inquiry into the cause of the disturbances was appointed by the Secretary of State, which among other recommendations suggested legislation dealing with offences committed by the press and the thorough reorganization of the police force.

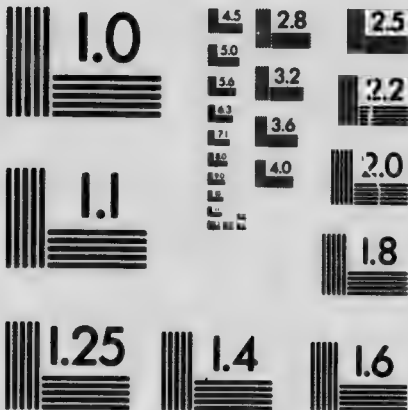
Trinidad is 85 miles due south of Grenada, 18 miles south-west of Tobago, and 120 miles north-west of the nearest point of British Guiana. As already stated, it is quite close to the South American continent, but Ciudad Bolivar or Angostura, the Venezuelan port through which the trade between the colony and the mainland is chiefly carried on, is situated some 240 miles up the Orinoco.

Trinidad is the southernmost of the British islands in the



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West Indies, and it is the largest, with the exception of Jamaica, with which colony it can most usefully be contrasted and compared. Jamaica is at one end of a crook of islands, Trinidad is at the other. Both are large, Jamaica, however, being much the larger of the two, and yet both lie near to land areas of far greater extent than themselves, Jamaica to Cuba and Hayti, Trinidad to the South American coast. Unlike the islands of the Leeward and Windward groups, both were once Spanish dependencies. Because they are large, the Spaniards took possession of them, and yet, because there are larger lands near to them, that possession was feeble and faltering. Again, unlike the smaller islands, both changed hands only once, becoming British instead of Spanish dependencies, but Trinidad capitulated to Abercromby nearly 150 years after Cromwell's generals took Jamaica, and it is the fact of its late acquisition by Great Britain which marks off this colony from Jamaica, and, indeed, from almost all the other West Indian islands. Jamaica ran the full course of negro slavery and sugar planting, Trinidad was hardly developed at all before it passed into British hands, and, by the time it became part of the British Empire, the days of slavery were already numbered. Hence it was never wholly bound up with one bad inelastic system of labour, nor with one industry alone. At the beginning of the last century it was still in great measure a virgin colony, still to be developed, still to be populated, in no degree worn out, to no great extent taken up by one race to the exclusion of others, a suitable field for varied products and for free East Indian labour. Its present is the brighter and its future the more promising for being so little hampered by the past.

The outline of its history is a very simple one. It was a neglected Spanish dependency, and has become a thriving British colony. It has no long record of invasions from without, and of social and political crises within, but has made steady progress under the Crown Colony system. The two most interesting points in its history are, first, that shortly before

it fell into British hands it received so large a number of French immigrants as to become almost more French than Spanish; and secondly, that, very late in the history of the West Indies, it became a receptacle for men who were glad to leave their own communities, and whose communities were glad to be rid of them. It is almost as if the island had not been discovered till 1783, a new and empty land, deriving its population from the overflow of other countries, and, like many other places, peopled in the first instance by settlers of bad repute.

Its geography too is very simple with its rectangular shape, its regular coast line, and its three ranges of hills definitely subdividing the interior. It is wanting in harbours and in navigable rivers, and its climate suffers from the prevalence of malarious swamps; but these defects are more than counterbalanced by the varied fertility of its soil, by the numbers of its streams, and most of all by the great safe bay which bounds its western shore. Nearly unapproachable on three sides out of the four, on the fourth, the richest side, it is easy of access. It looks entirely to the west, to the continent of which it once formed a part. Placed at the mouth of one of the great river highways of America, commanding the outlets of the Gulf of Paria, with large natural resources of its own, it is difficult to doubt the future of Trinidad. The Spaniards fished for pearls on the Venezuelan coast, and Raleigh sought a golden city on the banks of the Orinoco; but greater and more solid wealth than they ever discovered is now finding a centre in the island which they neglected, and is being carried to and from the wharves of Port of Spain.

BOOKS, PUBLICATIONS, ETC., RELATIVE TO TRINIDAD.

The standard work on the Colony is DE VERTEUIL'S *Trinidad* [2nd ed. 1884], most full and exhaustive in every respect; an older account of the island is JOSEPH'S *History of Trinidad* [1837]; Mr. J. H. COLLENS'S and J. H. STARK'S *Guides to Trinidad* deserve notice; and Trinidad is fortunate in having been the place where CHARLES KINGSLEY spent the Christmas of 1869, and in being fully described by that great writer in *At Last*.

TOBAGO

TOBAGO is stated to have been discovered by Columbus on his third voyage in 1498, at the same time that he discovered Trinidad. The two islands are within sight of each other, and therefore there is no reason to doubt the commonly received account. The name is given in old books as Tabago, and the *History of the Caribby Islands* adds Tabac as an alternative, but the supposed connexion between the name and tobacco is without foundation¹. The island, when discovered, appears to have been devoid of native inhabitants², and the Indians who molested the early European settlers must have come from the continent or the neighbouring islands. Tobago seems to have changed hands more often than any other of the West Indian islands; not only English and French, but also Dutch and Courlanders at different times laid claim to it and attempted settlement upon its shores. It was not that the island had very special attractions. It is smaller than any of the three Windward Islands or Barbados, and, if it had been very rich and commodious, the Spaniards³, it may be supposed, might have colonized it from the neighbouring coasts of Trinidad, and the other Europeans who settled upon it would have been more pertinacious in their claims, and more determined in their attempts at colonization. The history

¹ Labat notes the derivation of tobacco from Tobago (or Tabaco as he calls the island) as a mistaken one. He derives tobacco from the town of Tabasco in Yucatan, near which it was extensively grown; but the usual account of the word is that tobacco was the Indian name for the tube or pipe used in smoking, and was transferred by the Spaniards to the plant itself.

² Laurence Keymis in *The Second Voyage to Guiana*, 1596 [Hakluyt], says of Tobago, which he visited, 'This island is plentiful of all things, and a very good soil. It is not now inhabited because the Charibes of Dominica are evil neighbours unto it.'

³ A book of the eighteenth century (undated) entitled *Tabago or a Geographical Description, Natural and Civil History, &c.*, professes to give an account of the island from a preface to Herrera's *History of the West Indies*. According to it the island was named Tabago by Columbus, was inhabited by Caribbees, and was colonized by the Spaniards, who were driven out about sixty years after the date of the discovery by 'Arouagues' from the continent and Trinidad. This would seem to be a general statement from a Spanish point of view applicable to a good many islands.

reads as though the European nations concerned were uncertain what value to place upon the island, and its merit in their eyes, especially in the case of the Dutch, was probably its geographical position as the nearest of the small islands to Trinidad and the Spanish main, a quiet place to water and refit their ships, and a convenient spot for a trading station, especially in view of contraband traffic with Spanish America¹.

The first settlement at Tobago was English, and was made in the year 1625². The colonists came from Barbados, accompanied as chaplain by the Rev. Nicholas Leverton, B.A., of Exeter College, Oxford, who had found the Barbadian mode of life too dissolute for his taste. They appear hardly to have landed when they were set upon by Indians, and the survivors found their way to the Island of Providence³.

Three years later, in 1628, Tobago, like Trinidad, was included in the grant made by Charles the First to the Earl of Montgomery⁴; but no practical results followed, and the next attempt to colonize the island was made by the Dutch in 1632, Dutch traders to Brazil having probably touched there in former years. The settlers in this case were some 200 Zeelanders from Flushing⁵, who landed and christened the island New Walcheren; within a year, however, they were driven out by the Indians of Trinidad and the mainland, instigated and aided by the Spaniards, who had good reason to dread the close neighbourhood of the Netherlands.

¹ The *History of the Caribby Islands* notes the position of the island as being very convenient for trade with the natives of the South American continent.

² In most books it is stated that the British flag was hoisted at Tobago in 1580, and that the sovereignty of the island was claimed by James the First in 1608; but the present writer is not aware on what authority these statements are made. *The Universal History* (p. 321) states that 'Sir Robert Dudley, the lawful son of the famous Earl of Leicester, in an expedition he made against Trinidad (see above, pp. 235, 237) gave the English Government the first hint of peopling Tobago.'

³ See Southey's *Chronological History* (vol. i. pp. 257-8). Mr. Leverton appears to have been a very straight-laced gentleman, as he afterwards took the same objection to the colonists of St. Kitts as to those of Barbados.

⁴ See above, p. 174. Tobago was not included in the Carlisle grant.

⁵ See above, p. 51.

Ten years later, in 1642, James Duke of Courland, the independent ruler of a Baltic province, who had probably heard of Tobago from Dutch merchants, sent out two ship-loads of colonists; and this time the settlement took root. The Courlanders landed on the north of the island, where Courland bay and river still recall their memory; they built a fort called Fort James, and set to work to cultivate the land.

In 1654 the Dutch¹ sent out a second party of colonists, the promoters being two Flushing merchants, Adrian and Cornelius Lampsius; they landed on the other side of the island at Roodklyp or Rocky bay, and thus Tobago, like Barbados in early days, had two separate groups of settlers living upon it. At first the Dutch made no attempt to interfere with the older settlement; on the contrary they seem to have acknowledged the Duke of Courland as lord of the island, by whose permission and under whose protection their own colony was established. When however, in 1658, they heard that the Duke had fallen into the power of the King of Sweden, they took up arms against his subjects; and the garrison of Fort James surrendered to them on the condition that, if their master recovered his liberty, his settlement should be restored. Two years before this date, in 1656, an attempt had been made to found a French colony on the Spanish main. Upon its failure some of the Frenchmen found their way to Tobago, and the attention of the French West India company appears, in consequence, to have been attracted to the island. Possibly to preclude their claims, and possibly also to keep outside the monopoly of the Dutch West India Company, whose sphere included the whole West Indies, the brothers Lampsius applied to Louis the Fourteenth for a title to their island; and, in 1662, the King created Cornelius Lampsius² Baron of Tobago, though the patent which constituted the barony, curiously enough, speaks of Tobago as 'dependent

¹ See above, p. 51.

² This is the brother named in the translation of the patent given in *A summary account of the present flourishing state of the respectable colony of Tobago* (1774). Most of the books make Adrian Lampsius the Baron.

on our allies and confederates the States General.' Thus two merchants of Flushing held Tobago as a Dutch dependency, but under title from the King of France. They sent out a competent governor, and the colony made way. Meanwhile the Duke of Courland had been restored to his country, and in 1664 he demanded back his island from the Dutch. They refused to give it up, and, as the patronage of the King of France had been bespoken, he naturally applied to the King of England. That king, Charles the Second, by a treaty dated the 17th of November, 1664, gave him a grant of Tobago, to be held under British protection, on condition that no colonists should be admitted except Courlanders or British subjects. The Dutch had now to reckon with the English, and, at the beginning of 1666, the island was taken by privateers commissioned by the governor of Jamaica. A small English garrison of fifty men was left in the island, and, before the year was out, it surrendered to twenty-five Frenchmen, sent from Grenada, who were mistaken for a much larger force. The French in their turn abandoned the colony in March, 1667, and, after the peace of Breda, signed in the same year, the Dutch appear to have returned to it.

Before they were interfered with by the English, the Dutch had made considerable progress in colonizing Tobago and developing its resources. By 1666 the number of white inhabitants was, according to one account, as large as 1,200; the English invaders found eighteen sugar works in the island, and noted it as fairly settled and stocked with negroes, cattle, and horses; and a memorandum¹, drawn up in 1667, to induce the Netherlands government to take the colony under its direct control, laid stress on its good climate, its freedom from hurricanes, its fruitfulness, and the excellence of its cotton, ginger, and sugar.

It was the fashion to compare it with Barbados, and the Barbadians would seem to have regarded it as a possible rival to their own island; hence, in 1672, Lord Willoughby sent Sir

¹ See the *Calendar of State Papers* (No. 1638).

Tobias Bridges with 600 Barbadian troops, and once more broke up the Dutch settlement. At this time, it is interesting to notice, there were, in Lord Willoughby's opinion, more French than Dutch on the island. Again the Dutch returned, and again, in five years' time, they were involved in war. This time it was with the French, for, in 1677, a French fleet under Count D'Estrées attempted to reduce the colony. A determined sea fight took place, in which the Netherlanders beat off their assailants; but in a few months' time D'Estrées returned from France with a stronger force, and overpowered Governor Binks and his brave band of colonists. Though masters of the island, the French at this time, like the English in 1672, did not retain their hold upon it; and, though after the peace of Nimeguen, in 1678, it would seem to have been restored to the Dutch, the latter nation also appear to have become at length tired of a place where they were never left in peace. In 1682 the Duke of Courland revived his claims, and, following the example of Lord Carlisle in the case of Barbados¹, he asserted them in practical form by selling to a London company, at the head of which was one Captain John Poyntz, 120,000 acres in an island, the total area of which is actually about 74,000 acres². The grant appears to have been generally acquiesced in, but nothing came of it, although Poyntz did his best to float a scheme of colonization by publishing a glowing description of the island in 1683. His book is an amusing proof that speculators 200 years ago knew how to puff fields of emigration, in which they were very interested, as well as at the present day. It is entitled 'The present prospect of the famous and fertile island of Tobago.' It states that Tobago far exceeds Barbados 'and indeed any other of the Caribe-islands in the fertility and richness of the soil and in the commodiousness of

¹ See above, p. 178.

² It seems to have been the fashion to over-estimate the size of Tobago, for in the memorandum for the Dutch government, already referred to on the preceding page, Tobago is stated to be one-third larger than Barbados, being in reality much smaller.

its bays and harbours': and it sets forth 'how that £100 stock in seven years may be improved to £5,000 per annum!'

From this time onward for many years little is heard of Tobago. It remained a kind of No-man's land, not annexed by any European power. In 1737 the line of the Dukes of Courland became extinct, and such claims to the island as they possessed presumably passed to the English Crown. In 1748 the French Governor of Martinique authorized the subjects of his master to settle in Tobago, but, his proclamation having been promptly met by a protest from the Governor of Barbados, the French government sent instructions that the project of colonization should be discontinued. In consequence of these proceedings, Tobago was, in the same year, inserted in the treaty of Aix la Chapelle among the list of neutral islands together with Dominica, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent; but the neutrality was soon broken for, in 1762, the island was taken by the English, and, by the peace of 1763, ceded in full right to the British Crown. Steps were now taken to effect a lasting settlement; the colony was included in the Government of Grenada; parishes were marked out and the lands were put up for sale; in 1768 the first Council and Assembly met at Georgetown on Barbadoe, Scarborough being in the following year selected for the capital; and in 1770 Tobago sugar was exported to Europe. About 1775 cotton took for a while the place of sugar as the staple industry of the colony, and cotton grown on an estate in the island between the years 1789 and 1792 was reputed the finest ever brought to the English market. The statistics of the population too indicated progress, the total number of inhabitants in 1776 exceeding 14,000, of whom nearly 2,400 were white men. But the time of war was not yet over. In 1778 a small American squadron, destined for the capture of Tobago, was beaten off on the open sea by an English ship; and in 1781 the colony capitulated to a French force under the Marquis de Bouillé, far outnumbering the defenders, who, as the Governor contended, might well have been relieved from Barbados

by Rodney and his fleet. The peace of 1783 ceded Tobago to France, and it is noteworthy that, among all the British dependencies in the West Indies which had been taken by the French during the preceding war, this was the only island which they were allowed to retain. They had held it however only for ten years when, in 1793, it was retaken by a British force and constituted a separate colony with representative institutions as before. The peace of Amiens in 1802 once more restored it to France, but Napoleon had the good sense to sweeten the change of masters by leaving the form of government unaltered, and in return the little colony, when invited to express an opinion as to whether he should be elected consul for life, passed an unanimous vote in his favour. In 1803 the English again became masters of the island, and by the peace of Paris in 1814 it was finally reannexed to the British Empire. In 1833 it was once more included in the Windward Islands government, the colony then containing 13,000 inhabitants, of whom not more than 300 were pure whites. In 1876, as already stated¹, it was converted into a Crown Colony; on the first of January, 1889, it was severed from the Windward Islands and attached to the large island of Trinidad with which it is geographically connected; and finally, on the first of January, 1899, it was incorporated with the latter, and became one of the Wards of the united colony of Trinidad and Tobago. By this latter arrangement the revenue, expenditure and debt of Tobago were merged in, and became part of, the united colony, and the debt due from Tobago to Trinidad was cancelled. At the same time it was provided that, with some specified exceptions, the laws of Trinidad should operate in Tobago, and those of Tobago should cease to operate so far as they conflicted with the laws of Trinidad; and that all future ordinances of the Colony should extend to Tobago, with the proviso that the legislature should be competent to enact special and local ordinances or regulations applicable to Tobago as distinguished from the rest of the Colony. As

¹ See above, p. 217, note.

a consequence of these changes the post of Commissioner of the island was abolished, and the post of Warden and Magistrate was created in its place, while various other changes have been made for the purpose of reducing the establishments.

Tobago lies about 75 miles south-east of Grenada, and little more than 18 miles, at its nearest point, north-east of Trinidad. Unlike the Windward Islands, its line of length is from east to west, not from north to south. It points due north-east and south-west, its length is 26 miles, its greatest breadth $7\frac{1}{2}$, and its total area, including the islet of Little Tobago, about 114 square miles, which is almost identical with the area of the Maltese Islands. The surface is for the most part broken and hilly, but it is inferior to the Windward Islands in picturesqueness and grandeur of scenery. The main ridge runs along the centre of the island for about two-thirds of its length from its north-eastern end, rising to its greatest height in Pigeon Point, which is between 1,900 and 2,000 feet above the sea. It is clothed with forests, which cover about two-thirds of the total area of the colony. The slope on the northern side is more or less steep, but on the southern side, between the hilly spurs which run down to the sea, are several river basins, in which are the chief areas of cultivation. The south-western district consists mainly of low-lying plain land; here, on the northern coast, is Courland Bay, into which the Courland River, the largest in the island, flows with a south-westerly and westerly course, but neither this nor any other stream in Tobago is navigable. Tobago is not deficient in natural advantages; it is well watered; it is comparatively free from hurricanes, the last severe storm of the kind having occurred in 1847; it has a rich soil especially in the valley of the Courland River, and its shores are fairly indented. On Courland Bay stands Scarborough, the second settlement in the island, and on Barbadoes, on the southern side of the island is the site of Georgetown, the old capital. Among other sounds and roadsteads are the spacious Man of War or 'Manowa' Bay on the north coast.

ward coast near the north-eastern end of the island, King's Bay on the southern or windward coast, said to be the deepest and safest indentation in Tobago, and Rockly Bay, also on the southern coast, but further to the south-west than King's Bay. At the head of Rockly Bay, under a hill on which stands the disused Fort King George, is Scarborough the little capital of Tobago, a small town of 769 inhabitants according to the last census.

The climate of the island is hot but comparatively dry and healthy, and the cost of living is moderate as compared with other West Indian colonies. The mean annual temperature is about 81° , and the average annual rainfall on the windward side is about 66 inches. The flora and fauna approximate to those of Trinidad and the mainland, indicating that both these islands formed at one time part of the Spanish main. The colony has produced very good sugar and rum, and sugar is still the staple export, though the industry is in a depressed condition. Some progress has been made in recent years in the cultivation of cocoa, coffee, and nutmegs, and horse-breeding has been attempted by a few of the larger landed proprietors¹. It is an island which has suffered much from want of capital, due in part, it is said, to the prevalence of an old metayer system, which runs generally with the estates; and it has been injured by want of easy communication with the outer world, but this has now been remedied, and according to the last report² Tobago shows satisfactory progress. This may be attributed mainly to the plying of the contract steamer *Spey* round the island, and to the facilities offered by her regular visits for the ready disposal of the produce of the island. The total value shipped to Port of Spain in this way during 1902-3 amounted to nearly £30,000.

At the census of 1901 the population of the little colony was

¹ For the products and capabilities of Tobago see a *Report on the Agricultural resources of Tobago* [Trinidad, 1889], by J. H. Hart, Esq., superintendent of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Trinidad.

² [Cd. 1768¹²], of 1903.

numbered at 18,751. The community generally would seem to be fairly prosperous, most of the inhabitants cultivating a little land either as freeholders or as metayers. The Church of England claims about half the population and the rest are for the most part either Moravians or Wesleyans. The schools connected with these bodies are subsidized by grants in aid from the government, but the progress of education is checked by want of funds and want of regular inspection.

There is nothing in the present condition of Tobago to call for special remark, and its past is mainly interesting for the variety of nationalities which took part in colonizing it. It is difficult to understand why it should have been selected by the prince of a Baltic state for the site of a settlement, but its neighbourhood to Grenada would be enough to invite French interference, and the English from Barbados might be attracted to an island which, like Barbados, lies as an outpost on the ocean side of the Caribbean archipelago. Still more intelligible is its Dutch connexion, for the Netherlands, intent on trade alone, looked for footholds near the large islands and the continent; and as in Santa Cruz and St. Eustatius they planted themselves as near as they could to the greater Antilles, so in Tobago they found a resting-place near Trinidad and the coast of Guiana. To understand the history of Tobago, its neighbourhood to a large island and the continent must be borne in mind, and it must be remembered that the people, into whose hands this colony finally passed, were the same who took Trinidad from the Spaniards and Demerara from the Dutch.

BOOKS, PUBLICATIONS, ETC., RELATING TO TOBAGO.

Reference should be made to the following:—

1. *A History of Tobago* (1867), by H. I. WOODCOCK, then Chief Justice of the island.
2. *A Handbook of the Colony of Tobago* (1884), by L. G. HAY, Treasurer of the island—very full and well compiled.
3. *HOOPEE'S Report upon the Forests of Tobago* (1887).

CHAPTER VIII

BRITISH GUIANA

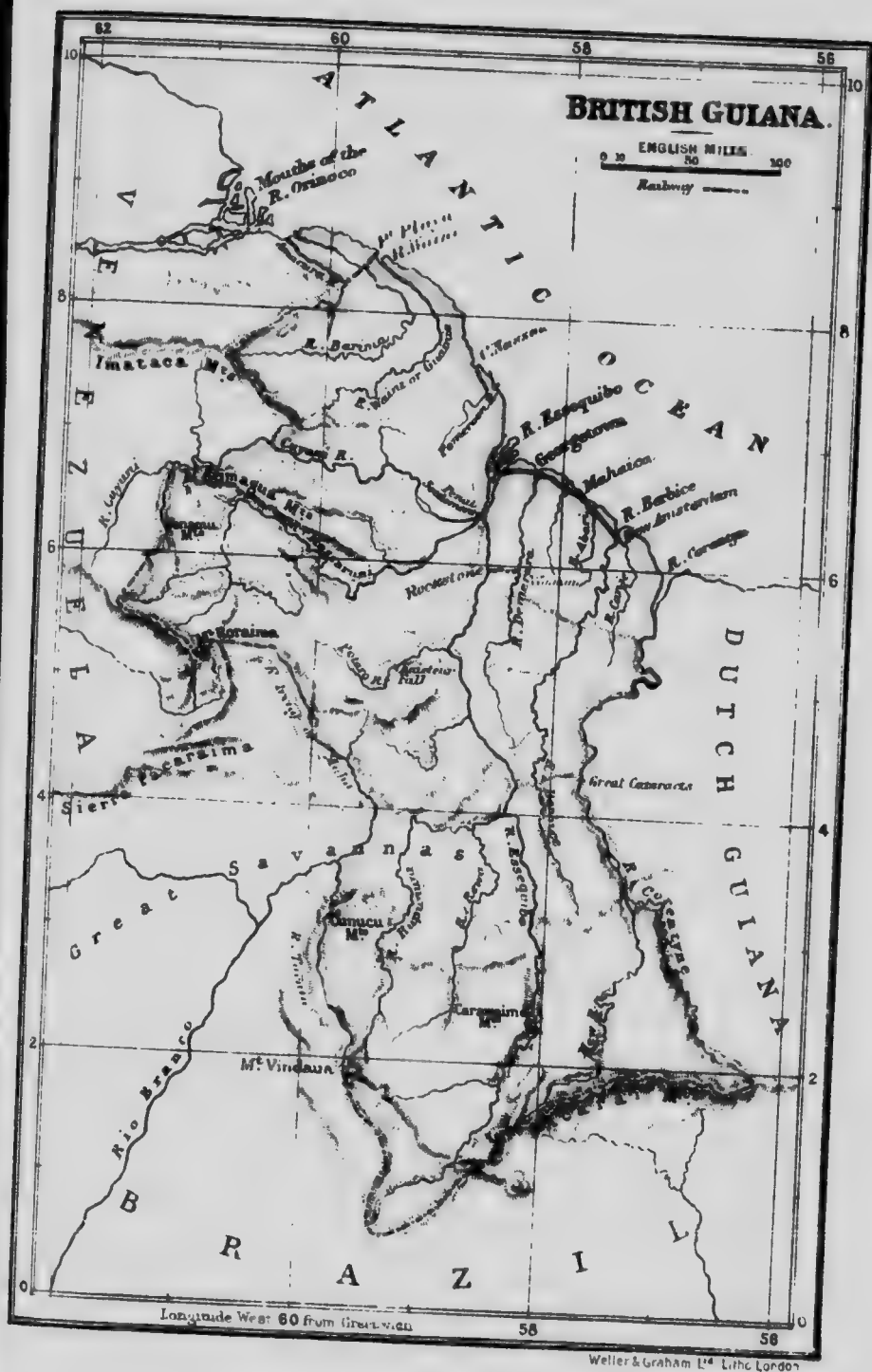
IN addition to her West Indian islands, Great Britain possesses two mainland dependencies on or near the Caribbean Sea, viz. British Honduras in Central America, and British Guiana in South America. They are neither of them peninsulas, all-but-islands, such as she owns in the Old World¹, but blocks of land cut out of the continent, and of large extent.

British Guiana lies outside and to the south-east of the Caribbean islands, and the story of its colonization is a record of settlement at the mouths and on the banks of great rivers as opposed to the island colonies of which a sketch has been given in the preceding pages. Guiana², which the early Dutch settlers knew as the Wild Coast, is the vast district of South America lying between the Orinoco and the Amazon, cut off from the rest of the continent by the interlacing of their tributaries, and often spoken of as an island. The courses of these two great rivers in their relation to each other are somewhat analogous to those of the St. Lawrence and Mississippi in North America. In either case the headwaters of the two rivers or their feeders³ are not far distant from each other, and, flowing in different

¹ See the author's *Introduction to a Historical Geography of the British Colonies*, p. 112.

² The derivation of the name Guiana is doubtful. Sir R. Schomburgk in his *Description of British Guiana* says: 'It is said to have received its name from a small river, a tributary of the Orinoco.' He is probably referring to the Waini or Guainia river, but the explanation does not carry any further, and it can only be said that the name would seem to denote water in some form. Guiana is sometimes called in old works the Arabian coast, the word being a corruption of Arabisci, which is derived from two words in the Arawak language, 'aroa' and 'bisi' = 'the place of the jaguar.'

³ The Rio Negro, one of the great tributaries of the Amazon, is actually joined to the Orinoco by a natural canal, the Casiquiari.



directions, they enclose between them a large stretch of continent and a long line of coast marked out as a distinct sphere of European colonization, while each great stream is a water highway leading into the heart of the continent. It may be said broadly that the Orinoco formed the southern boundary of Spanish dominion, though not of Spanish claims, on the north coast of South America, while the Amazon was the limit of the Portuguese in Brazil. Between them Dutch, French, and English found room to trade and to settle, and at the present day all three nations own provinces side by side, each of which bears the name of Guiana. Many rivers small in comparison with the Orinoco and Amazon, but still in themselves great and noble streams, flow to the sea along this northern coast, among others the Barima, the Waini, the Essequibo, the Demerara, the Berbice, the Corentyn, the Surinam, the Maroni, and the Oyapok. The first five of these are the chief rivers of what is now called British Guiana; the Corentyn separates British Guiana from Surinam or Dutch Guiana; the Maroni separates Dutch from French Guiana; and the Oyapok is the eastern limit of French Guiana.

In 1498, as has been already seen¹, Columbus came to the mouth of the Orinoco, and landed on the coast of the Gulf of Paria. In the following year, 1499, Ojeda and Amerigo Vespucci, reached South America somewhere about Surinam, and coasted westward along Guiana and the Spanish main to the further side of the Gulf of Venezuela. In January, 1500, Pinzon crossed the line of the equator, sighted Brazil near Pernambuco, and then sailing north-west discovered the mouth of the Amazon, whence he passed on along the whole coast of Guiana to the Orinoco. Thus in less than three years the main outline of the shores of Guiana was traced by Spanish sailors.

As the discovery of Florida was due to the search for the stream of perpetual youth², so a myth of a golden city long attracted European adventurers to the country watered by the

¹ See above, p. 234.

² See above, p. 78.

Amazon and the Orinoco. The history of Africa from earliest to latest days has shown that great rivers are at once the highways for explorers of dark continents, and the sources of romantic stories and travellers' tales. So it may easily be imagined how the early visitors from Europe to the South American coast, finding rivers beyond all others in size and volume, which poured down with many tributaries through rich, tropical lands, drew for themselves a picture of vastness and riches, and gave it definite form and shape as a city or a land of gold. The Eldorado myth is usually dated back to about the year 1531. At that time, so the story goes, a Spanish soldier, one of an exploring expedition up the Orinoco, was set adrift by his companions; and, on finding his way back some months afterwards to his own countrymen, he told how he had been taken by Indians to a great inland lake with golden sands, on which stood a vast city roofed with gold. The lake was given the name of Parima¹: the city was, in Raleigh's words, 'Manoa the Imperial city of Guiana, which the Spaniards call Eldorado.' By this time, it must be remembered, Pizarro had found his way to Peru, and his countrymen, ever athirst for gold, had sufficient evidence of a great kingdom with untold wealth to stimulate the search for the fabled city. So eager adventurers pressed on inland from the west as well as up the Orinoco and the Amazon.

Around the central myth others grew up. Orellana crossed the Andes by Quito in 1541 with the expedition of Gonzalo Pizarro, and floated down the Amazon. Meeting with women

¹ Raleigh speaks of the lake as 'a lake of salt water of 200 leagues long like unto Mare Caspium.' It appears under the name Parima on maps down to the end of the eighteenth century, and in some cases even later (see note to p. 54 of the *Introduction to the Discoverie of Guiana*, Hakluyt Series). It was located in the far south-west of British Guiana, where the inundations of the rivers, possibly coupled with the effect of tropical mists, may be supposed to have given birth to the myth; its non-existence was proved by Humboldt. It is worth noticing that there are mountains and a river in this part of the world still bearing the name of Parima. Reference should be made to the book already quoted, Raleigh's *Discoverie of Guiana*, edited for the Hakluyt Society by Sir R. Schomburgk, and to Humboldt's *Travels*, vol. iii, in Bohn's edition.

who fought side by side with men, he revived in the New World the old tale of a nation of female warriors. Thus the great river, first called Orellana after him, took its lasting name from the story which he brought; and Raleigh, to stir up his queen to the conquest of Guiana, reminded her that 'where the south border of Guiana reacheth to the dominion and empire of the Amazons, those women shall hereby hear the name of a virgin, which is not only able to defend her own territories and her neighbours but also to invade and conquer so great empires and so far removed.' Travellers told too,

'Of the cannibals that each other eat.
The Anthropophagi, and men whose heads
Do grow beneath their shoulders'

In short, while Europe was growing too old for fairy tales and mediæval myths, they found a new birth in a new world on the banks of the great South American rivers.

All through the sixteenth century the search for the Eldorado continued. As far as the Spaniards were concerned, it led to no colonization within the region of Guiana beyond the establishment of a Jesuit station towards the end of the century, some way up the Orinoco, which developed into the village or town of San Thomé.

At length Englishmen too joined in the quest; for, where discovery was to be made and riches and honour possibly to be won, the Devonshire sailors of Elizabeth's age were not likely to leave the Spaniards alone in the field. So in 1594 Raleigh turned his hand to the work. In that year he sent out Captain Whiddon as a pioneer, and in 1595 he followed himself. His visit to Trinidad on this occasion has already been noticed²: the governor of that island, Berreo, whom he took prisoner, had

¹ *Othello*, Act i. Sc. 3. '...h speaks of 'a nation of people, whose heads appear not above their shoulders' as reputed to live on a tributary of the Orinoco, and called Ewaipoma; and he states his belief in the story. His account was published on his return from his voyage in 1595, and the first known production of *Othello* was in 1604. There can be little doubt that Shakespeare had *The Discoverie of Guiana* before him in writing these lines.

² See above, p. 237.

been one of the greatest and most determined explorers of Guiana; and, with him on board, he took his way to the Orinoco. After exploring the river as far as the junction of the Caroni, he returned to England in the same year, and gave to the world in the *Discoverie of Guiana* an account of what he had seen and what he had heard and read, recalling in its mixture of fact and fable the stories of Herodotus. In the following year, 1596, he sent out Keymis, who carefully explored the coast, noting the rivers and the tribes, from the Amazon to the Orinoco; and later in the same year he fitted out another ship commanded by Leonard Berrie, and having on board a 'gentleman of the company' Thomas Masham, who wrote an account of the voyage.

In 1603 James the First succeeded Elizabeth, and Court sympathy with what was daring and chivalrous in Englishmen at once grew cold. Raleigh was sent to the Tower till 1616, when he was released on parole to follow up his search for gold in the far-off land. He sailed from Plymouth on his last disastrous voyage in July, 1617, and remained in the gulf of Paria while some of his ships under his staunch follower Keymis were sent up the Orinoco to find the gold mine which was the object of the expedition. Keymis found no mine, but he lost the life of his master's son in a fight with the Spaniards, and, after burning their settlement to the ground, returned to Trinidad and killed himself in a fit of self-reproach. After a year's absence Raleigh came back to England a broken man, his enterprise had been a failure, he had made war on the Spaniards, he was relentlessly put to death by a shifty cold-blooded king, and with him passed away the last lingering romance of the Elizabethan age.

But he left one legacy behind him, a kindly feeling to Englishmen among the natives of Guiana. The Indians learnt from him that all Europeans were not murderers and robbers, two of them served him during his long imprisonment in the Tower, and other English voyagers to the Wild Coast reaped the advantage of the trust and good feeling which he had inspired.

There was one European nation which was not likely to hunt for a golden city, when gold was to be earned by plain and matter of fact commerce. The Dutch had as early as 1580¹ commenced a systematic if contraband trade with the Spanish Main; their first voyage to the Guiana coast of which a detailed account exists was in 1598. In 1599 they built two forts at the mouth of the Amazon, and by 1613 they had three or four settlements on the coast between the Amazon and the Orinoco. These however were short-lived. It was about 1616 that they established the colony on the Essequibo, building the fort of 'Kyk over al,' 'Look over all' on an island where the Massaruni flows into the Essequibo. The colony was founded by Zeeland merchants, but eventually came under the control of the Netherlands West India Company, which was incorporated in 1621². Shortly afterwards colonization began further to the east on the Berbice river. The founder was a Flushing merchant, Van Peere by name; he founded his settlement about 1624, and he held his rights under contract with the Chamber of Zeeland, and through them with the governing body of the federated West India Company, the contract being signed in 1627. Thus was the present province of British Guiana colonized by Dutchmen, the western division being directly under a company, the eastern under a private merchant licensed by the company.

Before Raleigh the discoverer had fully run his course, the age of English trading had begun; and the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, so to speak, were overlapping each other in Guiana. But, while English discovery was attracted to the west and the

¹ See above, pp. 38, 50. The errors of date made by Padre Caulin and Hartsinck, and repeated by all later writers, were first corrected by the original documents included in the Appendix to the British Case presented to the British Guiana-Venezuela Boundary Tribunal.

² This colony on the Essequibo, was visited according to some accounts by Captain Powell, the leader of the first band of settlers in Barbados (see above, pp. 172, 181). John Smith, however, in his account of *The first planting of the Barbadoes*, does not mention the Dutch colony in Guiana, but simply says that Powell after taking the settlers to Barbados 'went to Disacaba [Essequibo] in the maine, where he got 30 Indians, men, women, and children of the Arawacos.'

Orinoco, the first attempts at English settlement were far to the east on the Wyapoco or Oyapok river.

Here, in 1604, while Raleigh was in prison, Captain Charles Leigh founded a colony at the mouth of the river on a hill which he named Mount Howard, and here he lived for some months among Indians whom he found very friendly. The following year his brother Sir Olave Leigh sent out supplies in the *Olive Blossom*, the ship which has already been noticed as touching at Barbados and St. Lucia¹; but the vessel appears never to have reached its destination, and, if it had done so, it would have found the settlement deserted, for Leigh had died of fever, and his followers had dispersed². In 1609 Robert Harcourt of Stanton Harcourt in Oxfordshire took up the work in which Leigh had failed, and planted a fresh colony on the Wyapoco, taking formal possession of the soil of Guiana in the name of King James. He too met with a friendly reception from the Indians, and, leaving his brother in charge of the settlement, he returned to England, where in 1613 he obtained from King James a grant of 'all that part of Guiana or continent of America lying between the river of Amazonas and the river of Dessequebe,' which was not actually possessed or inhabited by any Christian power in friendship with England. This grant he backed up by publishing 'Notes' for intending emigrants to Guiana. In 1619 a scheme was started for an Amazon Company, the leading spirit in which was Captain Roger North, who had accompanied Raleigh on his last expedition. A patent was granted, and North sailed for South America, where he visited the mouth of the Amazon and then appears to have reinforced the colony on the Wyapoco. On his return with a cargo of tobacco and other produce, he found that the shifty King had revoked the patent, and he was sent

¹ See above, pp. 171, 205.

² John Smith, speaking of this attempt at colonization in his *Brief Discourse of Divers Voyages made into Guiana* [1629], which should be consulted, states that he himself had intended to be one of the colonists.

for some months to the Tower. Shortly afterwards the company was fortunate enough to secure the powerful patronage of the Duke of Buckingham. Harcourt threw in his lot with them, and on the nineteenth of May, 1627, a royal grant was made to the Duke of Buckingham and fifty-five other adventurers, including the Earl of Montgomery, who were incorporated under the title of 'the governor and company of noblemen and gentlemen of England for the plantation of Guiana.' The Duke of Buckingham was Governor, North was Deputy-Governor, and the grant included the 'royal' river of the Amazon. For about two years the company did some solid work, sending out four ships and 200 colonists; an attempt was then made in 1629 to bring the territory covered by their grant immediately under royal protection, and upon its failure their efforts at colonization appear to have gradually died away.

The English were not the only Europeans who tried their hand at settlement in the east of Guiana. Raleigh, in his *Discoverie of Guiana*, speaks of the French as having made divers voyages to the Amazon, and in 1613, 160 French families settled in Cayenne. The first colony failed, but in 1624 and 1626 fresh attempts were made a little to the west on the rivers Sinamari and Cananama; and in 1643 a Rouen Company, incorporated under the name of the Cape North Company¹, sent out three or four hundred men to Cayenne under the Sieur de Bretigny. Bretigny ruined the scheme by savage ill-treatment of Indians and colonists alike, and the remains of the settlement were absorbed by a new and more powerful Normandy Company, which in 1652 obtained from Louis the Fourteenth the exclusive right of trading and settling between the Orinoco and the Amazon. This company, however, mismanaged matters as much as the last, the settlers quarrelled with the natives, and in a short time every Frenchman was forced to leave Cayenne.

¹ Cape North is the cape at the mouth of the Amazon, on the northern or western side.

In 1663, Colbert being then in power, a new and more powerful company was incorporated under the name of the French Equinoctial Company for the colonization of Guiana. In the following year 1,200 colonists set sail from La Rochelle, and on arrival at Cayenne forced a mixed Dutch and Jewish settlement, which had been established there since 1656, to capitulate. The scheme was better worked than any of its predecessors; the Indians gave up the island of Cayenne entirely to the French, and in 1665 Colbert placed it, with all the other French possessions in the West Indies, under one strong West India Company.

Such were the beginnings of colonization in the west and east of Guiana. Between them lies the district now known as Dutch Guiana or Surinam, and the story of its early settlement has special interest for Englishmen.

In 1630, Captain Marshall, whose name is still borne by Marechal's Creek, took sixty English colonists to the Surinam river to grow tobacco. The colony was reinforced in 1643, but only lasted for two years longer, side by side with a small French settlement, when the plantation was broken up and the colonists dispersed. In 1644 some Dutch and Portuguese Jews, refugees from Brazil, arrived in Surinam. Their coming well deserved to be perpetuated, as it has been, by the name of Joden Savanne which still marks the site of their settlement, for from this time is dated the beginning of sugar planting in Guiana¹. In 1650 an Englishman, more likely to succeed in colonizing than any of his predecessors, turned his attention to Surinam. Lord Willoughby, of Parham, who had come to Barbados in 1650², found time amid the social and political troubles, in which he played so prominent a part, to send a hundred settlers to this district of Guiana. He sent them in charge of a man named Rowse, and he reserved for himself

¹ Similarly 'the sugar industry was introduced into Barbados from Brazil.' See above, p. 181.

² See the chapter on Barbados, above.

in the new colony two plantations, one of which was named Parham Hill. In the articles of capitulation, under which, in January, 1652, he surrendered Barbados to the Parliamentary forces, it was specially provided that his colony in Guiana should not be interfered with; and on leaving the island in March of that year, he paid a short visit to Surinam.

Under the Commonwealth his rights were respected by the government at home, and it was proposed in 1654 to issue Letters Patent confirming them, but no step appears to have been taken in Parliament to that effect; he himself remained in Europe, and the colony was left very much to itself, governed by an elected President and a representative Assembly, and flourishing in spite of internal factions and the restrictions imposed by the Navigation Act. After the restoration of the Stuarts Lord Willoughby's West Indian claims revived in full, and the question arose in 1660 of giving him a grant of the whole of Guiana between the Orinoco and the Amazon. Eventually on the sixth of May, 1663, Letters Patent were issued to him in conjunction with Lawrence Hyde, second son of the Earl of Clarendon, constituting them lords and proprietors of the district between the Copenam and the Maroni (which included the Surinam river) under the name of Willoughby Land. The province was described as extending from east to west 40 leagues or thereabouts; 30,000 acres and a royalty on gold and silver were reserved for the Crown; and provision was made for representative institutions, for free religion, and for free trade. At this time Surinam was said to yield as good sugar as Barbados, and the 'dons' of Barbados were not unnaturally jealous of a colony which threatened to rival their own island, and in which their Governor had so strong a personal interest.

In 1665, Lord Willoughby paid a second visit to Surinam, and narrowly escaped with his life, being wounded by a fanatic of the name of Allen. Shortly afterwards war broke out with the Dutch, and in March, 1667, the colony capitulated to the

Dutch admiral Crynsens. The peace of *Preda* between Great Britain and the Netherlands, which was signed in the following July, provided that either nation should retain the conquests which it had made by the preceding tenth of May, and under this arrangement Surinam was ceded to the Netherlands, while New York became a British possession. Before the news of the peace reached the West Indies, however, William, Lord Willoughby, who by this time had taken the place of his brother, had set himself to recover the lost territory in Guiana. Early in September Admiral Harman left Barbados for the main, having the Governor's son, Henry Willoughby, on board; and, after breaking up the French settlement at Cayenne, he passed on to and recovered Surinam. These successes, however, came too late, and after complaints by French and Dutch alike, Willoughby was peremptorily ordered by the King to make full restitution to both nations. Compelled to give up Surinam, he did his utmost to leave as little for the Dutch as possible, by endeavouring to draw off the English settlers and their belongings; and his policy so far succeeded that, after some years of friction, it was expressly provided in 1674, by the fifth article of the treaty of Westminster, that the King of Great Britain should be empowered to send commissioners to enquire into the condition of the British residents in the colony, and ships to carry away all who wished to leave. The result was that some 1,100 persons, including slaves, were taken off to Jamaica and there planted in the parish of St. Elizabeth, in a district which received the name of the Surinam quarters¹.

Thus ended for many long years all British connexion with Guiana. For the next century British trade and colonization was confined to the northern continent of America and the West Indian islands, and, as far as Great Britain was concerned, the Dutch were left undisturbed on the South American coast. When at length the English returned, they came as conquerors rather than as settlers, and by a strange perversity of history,

¹ See above, pp. 58, 101.

the original Dutch colonies on the Berbice and Essequibo became a British dependency, while the Netherlanders retain to this day the part of Guiana which Lord Willoughby marked out for his own.

The resources of the Dutch West India Company were brought low by their long struggle with the Portuguese in Brazil, and in 1657 the abandonment of the Essequibo settlements was contemplated. As an alternative the Chambers of the three towns of Middleburg, Flushing, and Veere made a contract with the Chamber of Zeeland which had always had a special interest in these settlements, by which they took over the colony under the general control of the company. There were eight directors, four representing the Chamber of Zeeland, two for Middleburg, one for Flushing, and one for Veere; and capital was subscribed to carry on the work of colonization. Under these schemes a remarkable impulse was given to settlement, permanent establishments being for the first time made on the Demerara and on the Pomeroon. The latter with its two towns of Nova Zeelandia and New Middleburg became the most flourishing of the Colonies.

The Jews who had come from Brazil¹ brought with them here as elsewhere industry and wealth; in 1661 Guiana sugar was on sale in the Middleburg market, and in the years immediately ensuing there was a steady increase of prosperity. The sugar plantations were mainly on the Pomeroon, while the colonists on the Essequibo depended chiefly on trade with the Indians of the interior. About the end of 1665 or the beginning of 1666, an English force, commissioned by Lord Willoughby, took and plundered these colonies, and from this blow the Colony of Pomeroon never recovered². They were retaken in a few months by the commandant of Berbice, and shortly afterwards the withdrawal of the English from

¹ It would seem that as early as 1650 there had been a regular influx of immigrants from the Dutch Colonies in Brazil to the Guiana coast.

² One more effort was made to revive the Pomeroon Colony in 1686 and the following years, but the infant colony was crushed by the French.

Guiana gave the Netherlanders security against their most dangerous rivals.

In 1674, the year in which the peace of Westminster was signed, the Dutch West India Company was reorganized, and its management was entrusted to an assembly of ten. The Essequibo colonies remained as before under the general control of the company and under the more immediate control of the Chamber of Zeeland, which enjoyed for many years a monopoly of the trade. The sister colony on the Berbice river on the other hand had from the first been in the main a proprietary colony, practically owned by the Van Peeres, and in 1678 their proprietary rights were more fully confirmed. In that year Abraham Van Peere was given by the company a lien on the colony, and its ownership and government alike became vested in the family. In 1712 the settlement was taken by the French, who ransomed it for a bill of exchange drawn on the Van Peeres; payment was refused by the latter; but in 1714, after the peace of Utrecht, the bill was taken up and compounded for by four Dutch mercantile houses including the Van Peeres, and in consequence, when the colony was given back, the original proprietors retained only one quarter of their property. In 1720 a company was formed to take over the Berbice plantations, the Directors placed them more immediately under the authority of the States General, and in 1732, a constitution was given to the colony, consisting of a Governor and a Council of six chosen out of twelve persons nominated by the inhabitants.

The two colonies of Essequibo and Berbice continued to be separate from each other, but meanwhile a third colony sprang up between them, destined from its central position to lead the others. The year 1745 was the date at which definite settlement was renewed on the Demerara river, the colonists came from the Essequibo, and the plantations were authorized by the Chamber of Zeeland as a dependency of their Essequibo colony. The new settlements thrived; in 1773 Demerara was

constituted a separate colony; and in 1784, after a short interval of English and French occupation, the two colonies of Essequibo and Demerara were united under one government, the seat of which was placed at Stabroek on the Demerara river, renamed Georgetown in 1812¹.

In 1789, in answer to complaints by the colonists of interference with their political rights and undue taxation, two commissioners were sent from Holland to carry out a plan of redress; and finally, in 1792, upon the expiration of the West India Company's charter, the Stadtholder of the Netherlands took the direct control of Demerara and Essequibo into his own hands. Shortly afterwards, in 1795, Holland fell under French domination, and the three colonies, or rather provinces, were bandied about between Great Britain and the Batavian Republic. There continued however to be two governments, one for Essequibo and Demerara, and one for Berbice, even after the final cession to Great Britain had taken place; and it was not until 1831 that they were united for the first time in their history, and British Guiana became a single colony.

There are not many stirring events to relate of the time of Dutch rule in western Guiana. The two foreign nations with whom they seem most to have come into contact were the Spaniards and the French. The Dutch possessions in Essequibo bordered on Spanish America, and in this vast half-explored territory it was inevitable that from time to time there should be some conflict of claims. It was in the Essequibo district that down to the middle of the eighteenth century the Netherlands were strongest and made most progress. Keeping always on good terms with the Indians, they pushed their trading posts far to the south up the main river, and far to the west up the Cuyuni; while the Pomeroon, the Waini, and the Barima were within the sphere of trade and settlement.

¹ One governor was appointed for the two colonies in 1784; the two Courts of Policy were united in 1785, but the Courts of Justice were not combined till 1812.

The relations between Spain and the Netherlands had been defined by the treaty of Westphalia¹ in 1648. By that treaty the rebellious subjects of the Spanish Crown were once for all recognized as equals, and the two powers made peace on the basis that each should retain its existing possessions. Roughly speaking, the basin of the Orinoco was Spanish, the basin of the Essequibo was Dutch, but far inland there was room enough and to spare for encroachment whether authorized or not. The advantages, too, of contraband trade were likely to bring the outposts of either nation within reach of the other, and consequently, as the Spanish missions moved east from the Orinoco, they came within measurable distance of the Netherlands on the upper waters of the Cuyuni. Constant friction ensued between the respective local authorities and their subjects, and finally a remonstrance was addressed by the States General to the court of Madrid in 1759, and twice subsequently, in which the Dutch maintained their claim to the Essequibo and its tributaries, especially the Cuyuni.

On the coast, in 1689, the French broke up the Dutch station on the Pomeroon, and at the same time, and again subsequently in 1712, they went near to ruining the settlement of Berbice. On the latter occasion the colony capitulated and was held to ransom² in the very business-like manner already referred to, the invaders receiving a bill of exchange drawn on the proprietors.

This last incident illustrates the extent to which Dutch colonization and Dutch colonial policy was a matter of buying and selling. Therein lay its weakness. The English poured out from Great Britain to America and the West Indies, but there was little of this kind of colonization in the case of the Dutch. They never developed in the West Indies a strong European community like that of Barbados. In their case the

¹ This treaty included the treaty of Munster and is perhaps more often referred to under the latter name.

² See above, p. 278.

numbers were wanting¹, and the inclination too was wanting. They did not wish to find new homes but to find new feeders for the Amsterdam and Middleburg markets. So their traders and planters in Guiana remained comparatively few, a handful of merchants under the control of merchants at home. Again, though the Dutch West India Company was as nearly as possible a national company, after all it was a company and not the nation; and further, as the nation was not one whole but a federation of states, so the company was at best only a federation of chambers with occasionally conflicting interests. The Guiana colonies then, in spite of friendly relations with the natives², had not the elements of strength: the colonists appear to have lived mainly in small stations or on separate plantations, growing sugar, coffee, and cotton: the centres of settlement remained unimportant, and the home administration made for weakness. The troops were few and often mutinous, and the sense of insecurity led to cruelty to slaves and to provoking the very dangers which the settlers feared and with which they were ill able to cope.

In 1763 a slave insurrection broke out in Berbice, the account of which shows the inherent weakness at any rate of this particular colony. The whites in Berbice then only numbered about 100, as against some 3,000 slaves; the revolt lasted a year, during a great part of which the Dutch were all but driven out of the colony; and it was only put down at length by the help of troops sent out from home. It was apparently not until between 1730 and 1740 that planting began to make real progress; shortly afterwards the central colony of Demerara was founded; and still later, after 1770, there was a great move forward. At that time settlers of other nations, mainly English, began to come in from the West Indian islands, the Dutch

¹ See the author's *Introduction to a Historical Geography of the British Colonies*, p. 23.

² The Dutch in Guiana appear to have been remarkably successful in establishing friendly relations with the Indians and thereby strengthening their position against the Spaniards.

element was outnumbered, and the town of Stabroek became of some importance. A few years subsequently, at the end of 1780, the English and Dutch came to open war, and in 1781 the three settlements of western Guiana capitulated to Great Britain. In the following year the English were ousted by the French, and by the peace of 1783 the Dutch recovered for a while their lost possessions. Their rule however was rapidly drawing to a close; the British members of the community naturally wished to be under the government of their own country, and the colonists generally must have felt the need of protection by a stronger power than the Netherlands.

In 1795 war again broke out between Great Britain and Holland, the latter being now a dependency of France and known as the Batavian Republic; the settlers in Guiana, it is said, actually invited British interference, and certainly, when early in 1796 a fleet from Barbados reached the mouth of the Demerara river, the colony capitulated with little show of reluctance. Even the soldiers and officers of the garrison passed into the British service for the time being, and shortly afterwards helped their new rulers to repel a Spanish attack; while the growth of population and trade testified to the advantage of being under a strong government. Progress and prosperity were checked for a few months by the peace of Amiens, which in 1802 once more restored these settlements to the Dutch, but in September of the following year a fresh capitulation was signed with Hood and Grinfield, who were successfully consolidating the British power in the West Indies. There was no more giving back, and at the end of the war the first additional article of the convention between Great Britain and the Netherlands, signed in London in 1814, finally assigned Essequibo, Demerara, and Berbice to the former power.

Traders to the last, the Dutch in ceding the colonies, secured a condition that any of the Guiana proprietors who were subjects of the Netherlands should enjoy the right of free trade with their mother-country, and this condition was regulated by a supplementary convention dated the twelfth of August, 1815.

The English inherited a dependency whose resources were as yet but little developed, but which had stereotyped customs and institutions not always easy to adapt to progressive civilization. They had to weld together three settlements, one of which had always been distinct from the other two; and they had to deal with the slave question in a community, many members of which belonged to a nation somewhat slower to move on the path of emancipation than themselves, and where the influx of English capital had caused an increased demand for labour.

It has already been stated that the union of the three colonies into one dates from 1831, and it should be added that by an ordinance of 1838, Essequibo, Demerara, and Berbice were declared to be counties, the old divisions being thus maintained as subordinate parts of one whole. In 1817 the whole population of the settlements was given at about 110,000, nearly 102,000 of whom were slaves, but by 1834 the number of slaves had decreased to 82,824. As in Jamaica so in British Guiana, the slave system was only abolished painfully with friction and bad feeling. In 1808, the date at which the African slave-trade was made illegal, members of the London Missionary Society came out to the colony, and their efforts, well or ill-timed on behalf of humanity, raised the bitter opposition of the planters. In 1823 the expectant negroes broke out in revolt, and, after it had been put down with a more than strong hand, public feeling in the colony turned against the missionaries, one of whom, Mr. Smith, died in prison. The beginning of the apprenticeship system brought on, or rather threatened, another collision between the half-emancipated slaves and their masters, but the colony had the advantage of being ruled at the time by a judicious and humane governor, Sir James Carmichael Smyth, and at length in due course negro slavery became slowly and sullenly a thing of the past.

In the early years of the century cotton was grown to a large extent in British Guiana, but, when trade between the United States and Great Britain was no longer interrupted by war, the

competition of the former country proved too strong for the cotton growers of Guiana, and, coupled with the high price of sugar, made this latter product practically the sole industry of the colony. Free immigration supplied the want of slave labour, and in no part of the West Indies has the indentured system proved more successful or been resorted to on a larger scale. As early as 1835 some Portuguese were brought over from the island of Madeira, and between the years 1835 and 1875 no fewer than 187,000 free labourers were introduced, of whom over 98,000 were from the East Indies, and as many as 29,000 from Madeira, while China sent 13,000. Of late years India has been practically the sole source of the labour supply, the number of indentured coolies brought over during the last three years 1901-2 to 1903-4 having averaged about 3,000 per annum¹; and at the end of 1902 the Indian population of the colony was estimated at 130,756 out of a total of 302,172, or considerably more than one-third of the whole community.

Thus the nineteenth century brought to western Guiana British instead of Dutch rule, and free Indian instead of forced African labour; it has consolidated three plantation settlements into one colony; and it has made sugar-growing practically the main industry of the country.

The constitution of British Guiana is peculiar and unlike that of any other West Indian colony of Great Britain, being a legacy of the old Dutch times. Down to 1891 it consisted of a Governor, Court of Policy, and a Combined Court. The functions of an Executive and Legislative Council and House of Assembly were performed by the Governor and Court of Policy, except as regards taxation and finance, which were and still are dealt with by the Combined Court, composed of the Governor and Members of the Court of Policy, combined with the six Financial Represen-

¹ The actual figures are:—

1901-2	.	.	.	.	.	4,228
1902-3	.	.	.	.	.	1,947
1903-4	.	.	.	.	.	2,932

tatives. The Court of Policy passes all laws and ordinances, except the Annual Tax Ordinance, which is passed by the Combined Court.

During 1891 an Act was passed, which came into force in 1892, effecting a considerable change in the constitution. By this Act the administrative functions of the Court of Policy have been transferred to an Executive Council, and the duties of the former have become purely legislative.

The Combined Court has the power of (1) imposing the Colonial taxes and auditing the public accounts; and (2) discussing freely and without reserve the items on the annual estimates prepared by the Governor, in Executive Council. The first of these powers is the birthright of the Combined Court, having been bestowed in 1796, when Governor Beaujon called the financial representatives into being, 'with a right of voting only for the raising of colonial taxes and not further'; while the second is conferred periodically by His Majesty's Order in Council after each renewal of the Civil List, and is co-existent with the Civil List. The Civil List has recently been renewed for three years from January 1, 1905.

The Court of Policy, under the new constitution, consists of the Governor, seven official members, and eight elected members. It may be prorogued or dissolved at any time by the Governor and in any case is dissolved at the end of five years, and a general election must be held within two months of the date of dissolution. The number of financial representatives, who with the Court of Policy form the Combined Court, remains unchanged (6).

The qualification for membership of the Court of Policy, which hitherto was restricted to ownership of 80 acres of land, 40 of which had to be under cultivation, is extended to ownership of immovable property of the value of not less than £1,562 10s., or ownership or possession under a lease for 21 years or upwards, of a house, or house and land, of the annual rental value of £250.

The qualification for election as a financial representative

is the same as for membership of the Court of Policy, with the further qualification of clear annual income of £300, arising from any kind of property not mentioned in any other property qualification, or from any profession, business, or trade carried on in the colony.

The College of Electors, which elected members of the Court of Policy, has been abolished, and members are now elected by the direct vote of the people. The number of registered electors is about 3,000.

The Governor is assisted by an Executive Council, consisting at the present time of eight members¹.

The local bodies in the colony, which have power to impose rates, are the corporation of the city of Georgetown, whose municipal institutions date back to 1837, and the corporation of the town of New Amsterdam. There are also nineteen villages incorporated, whose revenue and expenditure in 1903-4 were £7,287 and £7,430 respectively. These last have been constituted for the management of the village settlements, in which the black population have congregated, and, subject to the control of a central board, they levy rates and authorize expenditure within narrow limits. Sanitary districts have been constituted under the Public Health Act, and these also possess limited rating powers.

The criminal law of the colony, and the greater part of the mercantile law and the law of procedure, are now assimilated to that of Great Britain, but, in other civil matters, the basis of the legal system here, as in the Cape and Ceylon which were also once dependencies of the Netherlands, is the Roman-Dutch law. There is a Supreme Court consisting of a Chief Justice and two Puisne Judges. All matters of summary jurisdiction are determined in the courts of the stipendiary magistrates, who preside over the several districts into which the colony is divided.

¹ For a sketch of the constitutional history of British Guiana see the Colonial Office List, from which the description of the constitution is taken.

The dimensions and measurements of British Guiana are very variously given owing to imperfect geographical knowledge.

Its length from north to south has been estimated at some 550 miles, and its average breadth from east to west at 300 miles. Its length of coast-line is about 280 miles, and its approximate area is 100,000 square miles, or rather smaller than that of the British isles. It is the largest of the three Guianas, its area being apparently more than equal to the combined areas of Dutch and French Guiana. On the coast its westernmost limit is Point Playa at the mouth of the river Waini; its eastern boundary is the Corentyn.

Reference has already been made¹ to the settlement by arbitration of the long standing disputes with the neighbouring States of Venezuela and Brazil respecting the western boundary of the colony. In the former case, the treaty between Great Britain and Venezuela referring the matter to arbitration was dated Feb. 2, 1897, and the tribunal constituted by that treaty met in Paris, and after hearing counsel gave their decision on Oct. 3, 1899, in favour of a line not differing essentially from that laid down by Sir R. Schomburgk, the boundary, as stated above, starting from Point Playa at the mouth of the Waini River, instead of Point Barima as claimed by Great Britain, and with a further modification in favour of Venezuela in the district between the Wenarou and the Upper Cuyuni. The treaty with Brazil was dated Nov. 6, 1901, and the King of Italy, who was nominated as arbitrator, gave his award on June 6, 1904, in favour of a line following the rivers Ireng (Mahu) and Tacutu, giving to Great Britain all that part of the zone in dispute lying to the east of the line of frontier, and to Brazil all to the west of the same line.

From earliest times the Dutch were wont to define the territory which they claimed as being within their sphere of colonization by the basins of the great rivers, and British Guiana might be roughly described as the basin of the Essequibo and its tributaries.

¹ See above, p. 72.

the Massaruni and Cuyuni. This description, however, would leave out of sight that the colony includes within its limits half the basin of the Corentyn, as well as the country watered by the Barima, the Waini or Guainia, the Demerara, and the Berbice.

The main division of the colony is formed by the Pacaraima mountains, a range which runs across British Guiana on its western side, in a south-easterly direction, about half-way between the sea and the Brazilian frontier. South of this range and parallel to it on the western side of the colony are the Canucu, the Carawaime, and the Acarai mountains, the last forming part of the boundary between Guiana and Brazil. North of the Pacaraima mountains are the Venamu and Arimagua hills, and on the western boundary the spurs of the Imataca mountains. Other isolated hills or groups of hills constantly occur throughout the colony, accounting probably for the extraordinary prevalence of cataracts and rapids in all the rivers till within a comparatively short distance from the sea; but, speaking generally, the land slopes away into plain north and east to the rich alluvial flats along the coast, which are obviously the result of riverine action. The main divisions of the colony are the high or undulating lands of the interior and the low-lying ground of the coast; the southern and western districts are more mountainous than the northern and eastern; and the coast-line is broken by the mouths of the great rivers which, running parallel to each other from south to north with many rapids and cataracts on their inland waters, are at once the highways of the colony, and the fertilizers of its richest soil.

Though the mountains are mainly in the south and west, yet on the same sides towards Brazil and Venezuela, are to be found vast savannas or plains, covered with grass, almost unbroken by tree or hill. A somewhat similar plain lies further north between the Cuyuni and Pomeroon districts: the latter however is largely covered with timber, and indeed the interior of the colony generally is so clothed in virgin forest, even up to

the tops of the mountains, that it has hitherto proved more or less inaccessible except to the Indian aborigines, and its geography can only be said to be known along the lines of the rivers.

On the western boundary of British Guiana, in the Pacaraima range, is situated a group of table mountains, of which the best known is Mount Roraima, one of the most singular mountains in the world. From a distance it has been said to resemble the walls of a massive fortress surrounded by a steep glacis. It is about thirteen miles long by seven wide, the lower or sloping part rising for about 5,000 feet, and the upper or precipitous part rising for another 2,000 feet, the top being a table-land covered with rocks and thin vegetation. Long considered inaccessible, it was scaled by Mr. Everard im Thurn in 1884.

Among many fine waterfalls in the colony special mention should be made of the great Kaieteur fall on the Potaro—a tributary of the Essequibo, where a breadth of water varying according to the season of the year from 300 to 700 feet, falls for over 800 feet, the fall being for 740 feet unbroken and perpendicular.

The lowlands along the coast, to which allusion has already been made, are the cultivated parts of the colony. Here the Dutch found a country in all respects like their own home, often below the level of the sea, in most parts liable to its inroads, and requiring dams and sluices to guard against the dangers of inundation. But the soil is naturally fertile, and is year by year enriched by the deposits of many great rivers. Looking at the geological formation it would seem that at one time the coast-line of the South American continent was here formed by the numerous sandstone hills, which now rise far inland, and that gradually the rivers formed a vast alluvial foreshore which, being nearest the sea, was the first part to be settled and cultivated by colonists from other lands.

While, however, the rivers brought down with them rich and fertile soil, they by the same process formed bars and sand-

banks at their mouths ; thus British Guiana wants deep harbours, and large ships find the land difficult of access.

The western district of the colony from the mouth of the Waini to the Essequibo, with a coast-line of 120 miles, is included in the county of Essequibo. Here, near the junction of the Massaruni with the Essequibo, is the scene of the first Dutch colony in Guiana, and close by is now the penal settlement of British Guiana, one of the best known in the British colonies. The county of Demerara stretches from the Essequibo to the Abari river, including the Demerara river and Georgetown the capital. Its coast-line is only 65 miles in length, but it is the most populous and important district of the colony. Georgetown, one of the most flourishing cities in the West Indies, is placed on the eastern bank of the Demerara river in the angle between the mouth of the river and the sea. It is well laid out in broad rectangular streets, and at the end of 1903 its population was estimated at 48,192¹. A line of rail, 65 miles in length, owned by a private company, runs east from the city, roughly parallel with the coast, to the Berbice river opposite to New Amsterdam ; and another line about 14 miles in length starting on the west bank of the Demerara opposite Georgetown, runs to the Essequibo. The Demerara and Essequibo rivers are also connected by a short line between Wismar on the Demerara and Rockstone on the Essequibo, above the dangerous falls on the latter river. But communication in British Guiana is carried on at least as much by water as by land, the sea, the rivers, and the canals in connexion with the Demerara river, affording good facilities of transport. The easternmost county is that of Berbice, extending from the Abari to the Corentyn river, with a coast-line of 95 miles, and including the Berbice river and the town of New Amsterdam. The town stands on the eastern bank of the Berbice, between its mouth and that of the Canje river, and at the present time the estimated population is 7,012 persons.

¹ No census was taken in 1901.

The colonized districts of British Guiana are for the most part level and damp: the low-lying land by the sea has been denuded of shade, trees, and the thick tropical forests, which form the background of these cleared areas, shut out the breezes from the hills of the interior. It is for this reason probably that the north of the colony possesses the most trying of West Indian climates, and is so subject to the presence of intermittent fever. There are two wet and two dry seasons, the incidence of which is very different from, and almost the reverse of, the seasons in the islands. The mean annual temperature on the coast-line is said to be 80° , and the annual rainfall at Georgetown is about 82 inches. Severe hurricanes are unknown. On the savanna lands of the interior the climate is widely different from that of the coast districts, and is stated to be fresh and invigorating in the highest degree, though this part of the colony lies almost immediately under the equator.

The flat alluvial country along the coast is so well adapted to the growth of the sugar-cane that sugar has become the main industry of the colony. More capital and greater enterprise have been brought to bear upon sugar-growing in British Guiana than in any other part of the British Empire. The Demerara sugars have in consequence a world-wide name; they were the first West Indian sugar to be brought into the English market ready for consumption without further refining, and they have been taken as a standard by sugar-growers and refiners elsewhere. In 1902-3 the colony exported 120,126 tons of sugar, but the prices obtained have been unremunerative, and the position of the industry has become critical. Fortunately, however, last year's crop was abundant, and the grant from the Imperial Exchequer enabled the planters to survive another year in anticipation of the improvement which it is hoped will result from the Brussels Convention for the abolition of the sugar bounties.

The total value of the colonial produce exported in 1903-4 was returned at £1,678,395. Of this sum £1,121,143 repre-

sented the value of the sugar export, while the rum exported was valued at £101,921, and the molasses at £9,110. The export of sugar was larger than in any year since 1887, but whereas at that date the average price per ton was £13 6s. 8d., in 1903-4 the average value fell to £8 18s. 9d. per ton, a slight increase however on that of the previous year.

In the earlier part of the present century the chief export of Berbice and Essequibo was cotton; and away from the coast the remains of cotton, coffee, and cocoa plantations are still to be met with, which returned in past days rich profits to their Dutch proprietors. At the present day, however, the only exports besides the produce of the sugar-cane, which deserve mention, are gold, diamonds, and forest products. The latter include timber, chiefly greenheart, and the gum of the balata tree or India-rubber. The recently appointed Board of Agriculture has already done good work, both in experiments with sugar-canes, and in the encouragement of subsidiary industries.

Gold is a comparatively recent addition to the exports of the colony. In 1886 mining began in earnest, and 6,518 ounces of gold were exported; in 1888 the export reached 14,570 ounces valued at £55,566, and in 1903-4 the quantity had risen to 90,207 ounces of the value of £327,527. The existence of gold in British Guiana has been long known, but the unsettled question of the inland boundary and the conflicting claims of the neighbouring state of Venezuela have been an obstacle to mining enterprise. These impediments no longer exist owing to the Paris arbitration and the consequent demarcation of the boundary which is now proceeding, and it has become apparent that mineral riches are to be found in unquestioned British soil, and that Raleigh's dream of Eldorado bids fair to be realized in coming years within the limits of the colony.

British Guiana is one of the richest of West Indian colonies: it carries to this day more of the character of the old 'plantations' than any other. There are comparatively few land owners

settled in the colony: and the great sugar estates, which stretch for miles along the sea coast and the banks of the great rivers, are mainly owned by London capitalists. The influence of the British owners through their local representatives on the government and politics of the colony is very great, and the same power which has given the settlement its wealth determined also the direction of its trade.

Great Britain and the United States divide between them three-fourths of the total import and export trade of the colony, the share of the former in 1903-4 being 44.51 and of the latter 25.58. A gratifying feature is the increasing trade with other British colonies, especially Canada.

The money of account in the colony is dollars and cents, but the chief currency and legal tender is British sterling. Guilders with their subdivisions, minted in England, were till recently also legal tender, but are now demonetized. It is worth noticing that British Guiana is one of the few English dependencies in the West Indies which has more than one bank.

The revenue amounted in 1903-4 to £555,853, two-thirds of which was produced by import duties, and about one-sixth by spirit licences and excise duty. The method of raising revenue on intoxicating liquors differs from that adopted in most other parts of the world, the bulk of it being secured by heavy retail licences, combined with an excise duty on rum which is comparatively light.

Besides the general revenue, more than £60,000 a year is raised in the boroughs of Georgetown and New Amsterdam for local purposes, and there is a small village revenue, the result of a tax on houses and property in the village communities, which is applied for the benefit of the villages in road-making and sanitation.

The public debt amounted on the 31st of March, 1904, to £990,620, including loans such as the Immigration loan, which while not directly charged upon are yet guaranteed by the general revenue of the colony.

The population at the last (1891) census¹ numbered 278,328. In 1841 it numbered 98,000, in 1871, 193,491, and it is now estimated at 302,172, Demerara being the most populous county even exclusive of Georgetown.

Of the various elements which compose the community, the most numerous here, as elsewhere in the West Indies, is the black or coloured, the offspring of the African race, living in great measure in the village settlements to which reference has already been made. The large and growing numbers of East Indians, who do most of the work on the sugar plantations, have been also noticed, and it is satisfactory to find that many of the time-expired coolies are settling on the lands of the colony, and have already established a flourishing rice industry. Of the remainder there are some thousands of Portuguese from Madeira and the Azores, a considerable but constantly varying factor in the population, chiefly engaged in shop-keeping; about 2,500 Chinese; about 7,000 aboriginal Indians and half-breeds, locally known as 'bucks'; and, according to the last census, not more than 2,500 born in Europe.

The Aborigines are mainly to be found in the interior, where South American tribes from Brazil and Venezuela are said to be concentrating themselves within the confines of British rule. Much has been written about the past and present of the various races to which Guiana once belonged, the Caribs and Arawaks being perhaps the most familiar names². Here it can only be said that the natives who remain are timid and peaceful, and the proverbial ferocity of the Carib is a thing of the past.

Of the whole population of the colony the large majority can neither read nor write. Education has not as yet made striking progress, and the system at present is mainly denominational. There are about 209 schools in the settled districts, and some half-

¹ No census was taken in 1901.

² Reference should be made to Mr. im Thurn's book *Among the Indians of Guiana*, published in 1883.

dozen mission schools for the aboriginal Indians. There is also a government college at Georgetown, to which is attached an annual scholarship, tenable for three years. The churches of England and Scotland are both established in the colony, and other religious bodies are also subsidized, but it is difficult to form any accurate estimate of the numbers belonging respectively to these and other denominations.

British Guiana is the largest, the southernmost, and the easternmost of the colonies which form the West Indian section of the British empire. Its north-western extremity is about 120 miles from Trinidad; Georgetown is about 390 miles from Barbados. It is the only territory in the South American continent which is owned by Great Britain. It has many elements of attractiveness and interest alike in its geography and in its history. Its great rivers, its little known interior with rich possibilities for the future, its natural wonders of mountain and waterfall, the evidences, past and present, of varied native races, each and all are subjects for study and attention. The history of its colonization brings back first and foremost the name of Raleigh, and all the stories connected with the Eldorado romance. Next it reminds English readers that their countrymen began to settle in Guiana—though not within the limits of the present colony—before they attempted any settlement in the West Indian islands. Lastly, it brings home to them that this particular part of the land of rivers, with low-lying marshy coasts, was from early days appropriated by the Dutch, that Englishmen came back to it only when the strength of the great trading nation had begun to fail, that they took it over with its law, its customs, its political and social system, modelled after the pattern of the Netherlands, and that they keep it side by side with a Dutch colony which, on the other hand, once belonged to Great Britain. At the present time the main points to notice are the extent to which the cultivated soil of the colony has been given up to sugar-growing, and the increasing output of gold and diamonds; while looking to the future, it is interesting to speculate what

riches, mineral or agricultural, the inland districts may have in store, and how far this colony will become a home for the East Indian in preference to the African race.

BOOKS, PUBLICATIONS, ETC., RELATING TO BRITISH GUIANA.

The most useful book for historical purposes is RODWAY'S *History of British Guiana from the year 1688 to the present time*, in 3 vols., published at Georgetown in 1891-4.

WATERTON'S *Wanderings in South America* (1812-25) and DALTON'S *History of British Guiana* (2 vols., 1855) are standard works, but the latter is not free from inaccuracies.

Rev. W. H. BRETT'S *Indian Tribes of Guiana* (1868), Mr. IM THURN'S *Among the Indians of Guiana* (1883), Mr. BODDAM WHETHAM'S *Roraima and British Guiana* (1879), and Mr. HENRY KIRKE'S *Twenty-five Years in British Guiana* (1898) are well-known works.

For the Eldorado stories and the early history generally, reference should be made to two books of the Hakluyt series, RALEGH'S *Discoverie of Guiana*, edited by Sir ROBERT SCHOMBURGK (1848), and *The Search for Eldorado* with an introduction by Sir CLEMENTS MARKHAM (1861).

See also Sir ROBERT SCHOMBURGK'S *Description of British Guiana* (1840), RICHARD SCHOMBURGK'S *Reisen in Britisch Guiana*, 3 vols., 1847-8, and the geological reports on the colony by Messrs. BROWN and SAWKINS.

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BRITISH HONDURAS.

English Miles
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Map showing the geographical features, major towns, and surrounding regions of British Honduras. Key locations labeled include Orange Walk, Toledo, and various rivers like the Hondo and Dulce. The map also shows the Gulf of Honduras and the Bay of Amoy.

Vetter & Graham 1703

CHAPTER IX

BRITISH HONDURAS

THE entrance to the Gulf of Mexico is between two great promontories, Florida on the north, Yucatan on the south. The peninsula of Yucatan points almost due north, ending in Cape Catoche. On its western side, in the angle where it joins the mainland, is the Bay of Campeché, an inlet of which bears the name of the Laguna de Terminos. On its eastern side, outside the Gulf of Mexico, is the Bay of Honduras, or, as its Spanish name signifies, the Deep Bay. The coast runs south from Cape Catoche, as far as the extremity of the bay at Golfo Dulce, and on this side is the territory included in the colony of British Honduras looking east over the Caribbean Sea. From the end of the bay, the land takes a sharp turn and runs east almost at right angles to its former course as far as Cape Gracias à Dios. Off this last section of the coast are some small islands, Ruatan, Bonacca or Guanaca, and others which were known in West Indian history as the Bay islands. From Cape Gracias à Dios the land again takes a turn and runs nearly due south as far as the San Juan river and thence south-east to the Isthmus of Darien.

The San Juan river which flows out of Lake Nicaragua, and forms the boundary between the states of Nicaragua and Costa Rica, is commonly taken as the southern limit of the territory which was known as the Mosquito coast. Its northern limit was in old days Cape Honduras, halfway between Cape Gracias à Dios and the end of the Bay of Honduras. Off this coast again, from Cape Gracias southwards, are various small islands, one of

which was of some importance in the early days of British colonization and bore the name of Providence ¹.

The thought always present to Columbus on his voyages of discovery was to find a new way to India and the East. On his first three expeditions he had explored the greater and lesser Antilles, and had reached the South American coast at the mouth of the Orinoco. On his fourth and last voyage, in 1502, he set himself to find a strait, which would lead from the Caribbean to the Indian Sea, and which he placed in his calculations somewhere near the Isthmus of Darien. When he had reached Hispaniola therefore from Europe, he took his course westward towards the mainland, and came to one of the Bay islands now named Bonacca, but which the Indians called Guanaja and he himself designated the Isle of Pines ². From thence he reached the continent at Cape Honduras, and, coasting painfully along to the eastward against wind and tide, at length he rounded the point where the land bends to the south, which in gratitude for a smoother course he named Cape Gracias à Dios. He subsequently explored the whole eastern coast of Central America as far as the Isthmus of Darien, where he gave Porto Bello its name, and finally returned north to linger for months on the shores of Jamaica ³.

The doings of the Spaniards in Central America are chronicled by Helps and other writers, and even a sketch of the events which followed the discovery of this part of the continent would require more space than could here be given to it. In 1509 a division was made between two rival captains, Nicuesa and Ojeda, both anxious to colonize the mainland. To the former was assigned the coast from Cape Gracias à Dios to the further end of the

¹ See above, p. 78 note, and below, p. 301. The island was generally known as Old Providence to distinguish it from New Providence in the Bahamas. Its importance is shown by one of Cromwell's letters written in November, 1655, some years after the colony had been abandoned. He writes, 'We could heartily wish that the island of Providence were in our hands again.' [Letter ccvi in Carlyle's collection.]

² Not to be confused with the Isle of Pines on the south side of Cuba.

³ See above, p. 94.

Isthmus of Darien, his province being named Veragua, while Ojeda was given the north-west coast of South America from the Gulf of Darien to the Gulf of Venezuela. Subsequently different provinces were established in Central America as year by year more land was conquered and more peoples reduced to slavery. The richer southern and western districts, including Nicaragua, were overrun from Darien; the less attractive and poorer northern countries on the eastern side of the coast including Yucatan, were, so to speak, an appendage of Mexico. Yucatan is said to have been discovered by Hernandez de Cordova, who reached Cape Catoche from Havana in 1517. In 1524 Cortes sent one of his captains, Christopher de Olid, south to make a settlement in Honduras, and, finding that Olid intended to set up a separate government for himself, he followed him in the same year and carried out his celebrated march from Mexico to the head of the Bay of Honduras, finally returning by sea in 1526 from the newly founded town of Truxillo. Shortly after he left, in the same year, the country round the south of the bay, as far east as Cape Honduras, was constituted a separate government under the name of Honduras, and the new governor, landing at Truxillo, enforced the obedience of the colonists whom Cortes had left there.

After a century of Spanish occupation, Central America was visited by an Englishman, Gage, in the years 1625-37, who has left a full description of it in his *New Survey of the West Indies*¹. He notices the neglected and unattractive province of Yucatan, held among the Spaniards to be poor as producing no indigo, cochineal, or mines of silver, but only timber for ship-building, with honey, wax, hides, and sugar. On the other hand he speaks of Nicaragua as 'so pleasing to the eye and abounding in all things necessary that the Spaniards call it Mahomet's paradise.' On the Bay of Honduras the chief town was Truxillo, called by Gage 'the head port of Comayagua and Honduras'; it was important as not far from the eastern outlet of Guatemala at the

¹ See above, p. 99 and note.

Golfo Dulce, but, when Gage wrote, it had been taken and sacked by the Hollanders, for the Spanish power was by that time falling into decay.

The Spaniards seem to have run their course in Central America on the same lines as in other parts of the New World. Where they found riches or signs of riches they conquered and wasted the native population, where the land seemed less attractive they claimed rather than possessed, and did little either in conquest or settlement. There were three reasons why the eastern coast, from the northern side of Yucatan to the San Juan river where the rich coast 'Costa Rica' began, should have been left comparatively neglected. The first was that the promise of wealth was not great, except where the end of the Bay of Honduras gave access to the interior; the second was that this side was especially exposed to the attacks of the buccaneers; and the third was that a great deal of the coast was in the hands of a very determined Indian race, the Mosquitos.

In Hakluyt's collection, under the year 1576, an account is given of the voyage of a privateering English trader named Barker, who 'sailed into the Gulf of the Honduras' with two ships manned by mutinous crews, and whose second in command, William Coxe, after his leader's death, took and sacked the town of Truxillo. In 1571-2, Christopher Newport and his company captured eight ships in the bay, and, in the quaint words of the narrative, 'took their pleasure' of the town of Puerto de Cavallos, described as 'of two hundred houses and wealthy.' The same town, which lay to the west of Truxillo nearer the Golfo Dulce, and which seems to have been identical with Omoa, was again taken in 1596-7 by Sir Anthony Shirley, who however gave a very different account of it as 'the most poor and miserable place of all India.' Shirley had shortly before ravaged Jamaica¹, and attempted to take Truxillo, but found it 'invincible by nature.'

In the earlier part of the following century Dutchmen, as has been seen, took and sacked the latter town, and instances might

¹ See above, pp. 98, 99.

be multiplied of buccaneering raids by French, English, or Dutch sailors upon these shores. From their place of rendezvous at Tortuga off the northern coast of Hispaniola the buccaneers would easily pass on to the neighbouring continent, and one of their leaders Willis, when driven from that island, is said to have planted himself about 1638 in what is now British Honduras, and to have left his name to be perpetuated in a corrupted form in the river and town of Belize¹.

The story of the Mosquito Indians, of their steady and successful opposition to the Spaniards, and their equally steady friendship for the English, deserves some notice. Their territory, as has been said, extended first to the east from Cape Honduras to Cape Gracias à Dios, and then to the south from the latter Cape to the San Juan river. The last-named river indeed was not the original southern boundary of the race, and they seem to have extended as far as the south-eastern end of the Chiriqui lagoon, where Costa Rica now borders on the United States of Colombia².

As they were for many long years under British protection, it will be convenient to give a short account of the history of this shore and the adjacent 'Bay islands' before taking up the tale of the district on the other side of the bay, which developed into the present English colony.

In 1630 King Charles the First granted to a company³, of which the Earl of Warwick was chairman, and John Pym treasurer, two small islands off the Mosquito coast, south of Cape Gracias à Dios. One of them, then known as Catalina or St. Catherina, was re-named Providence; the other, known as

¹ See above, p. 55, and see also Bridges' *Annals of Jamaica*, chap. 13. The treaty of 1783 speaks of the river Wallis or Bellize, but the derivation from Willis or Wallace seems very doubtful to say the least. Another derivation is from the French balise, 'a beacon.'

² Reference should be made to the correspondence on the subject presented to the House of Commons in July, 1848, which contains a map of the Mosquito territory, and also to a report printed for Parliament in the preceding year.

³ See above, p. 78 note.

Andrea, was re-named Henrietta. The company lasted for eleven years; they established a trading station on the mainland at Cape Gracias à Dios, and a friendship appears to have sprung up between the settlers and the natives, strong enough to induce the king of the Mosquitos to send his son on a three years' visit to England¹. Shortly after the English conquest of Jamaica in 1655, and some years before the treaty between Spain and Great Britain in 1670, the king of these Indians apparently the very man who had been to England, placed himself and his people under the protection of Great Britain, as represented by the governor of Jamaica, and acknowledged the sovereignty of the English Crown. This act of willing submission was more than once repeated, the Indians sending embassies to Jamaica in 1687, when the Duke of Albemarle ruled that island, and in 1725, when the Duke of Portland was the governor.

Their relations to the governors of Jamaica seem to have been much the same as those of the Sultan and people of the Maldives at the present day to the governors of Ceylon², but their friendship was closer; they not only acknowledged the suzerainty of Great Britain, but welcomed British settlers to their shores; they were friends with the buccaneers, as generally in alliance with the English and always in enmity with Spain; they sent some of their numbers to Jamaica to help the colonial government against the Maroons³; and the iniquities of slave-traders, who from time to time kidnapped members of their tribe, did not seduce them from their self-imposed allegiance.

Prior to the war which broke out between Spain and Great Britain in 1739 and which was ended by the peace of Aix la

¹ The authority for this is the Introduction to Sir H. Sloane's *Voyage to Madera, Jamaica, &c.* (published in 1707), p. 76. Sir H. Sloane was in Jamaica when the Mosquito embassy came to pay their court to the Duke of Albemarle, who was then governor, and he states that the king asked that a governor should be sent to the Mosquito country, but 'the Duke of Albemarle did nothing in the matter, being afraid it might be a trick of some people to set up a government for buccaneers or pirates.'

² The Maldivians send an annual embassy to Ceylon. See vol. i. of this work, p. 91.

³ See above, p. 106.

Chapelle in 1748, the Jamaica government appears to have already appointed Justices of Peace in the Mosquito territory; and, when war began, the British authorities determined to take that territory more definitely under their protection. They were encouraged to do so by a fresh treaty of alliance, which the king of the Mosquitos concluded in 1739, 'resigning his country to Great Britain'.¹ In 1741 an agent was sent from Jamaica to the Mosquito shore, and in 1742 a fort was built and a small garrison placed in the island of Ruatan with the willing co-operation of the Indians, while another fort was built on the mainland at Black River, between Cape Honduras and Cape Gracias a Dios, which became 'the asylum and safe retreat of the Bay-men'.¹ At the end of the war the occupation of Ruatan was discontinued, but troops were sent to Black River, and in 1749 a formal appointment was made of an officer to superintend the settlements on the Mosquito shore under the government of Jamaica. This arrangement continued till the year 1763, when the great peace of Paris was signed. By the seventeenth article of that treaty it was provided that all the fortifications which British subjects had erected 'in the Bay of Honduras and other places of the territory of Spain in that part of the world' should be demolished; and, though it was contended with every show of reason that the Mosquito coast had never been Spanish territory, the forts were dismantled and the garrisons withdrawn. The settlements however still continued, and in 1770 the Jamaica council reported that the colonists in the Mosquito lands numbered between 200 and 300 whites, 200 of mixed origin, and 900 slaves, growing cotton, cocoa, and indigo. In 1775 a more regular administration was organized, consisting of a Council of Government presided over by the Superintendent, a Court of Common Pleas, and a Bench of Justices of Peace. In consequence of Spanish raids, the settlers applied for a garrison in 1777, which was refused; and in 1782 the colony at Black River was taken by the Spaniards, the residents retiring

¹ The quotations are from old despatches at the Record Office.

to Cape Gracias à Dios, only to be reinstated in five months' time with the help of troops from Jamaica. The sixth article of the treaty with Spain signed in 1783 marked out limits within which the logwood cutters might carry on their calling without being interfered with by Spain, and provided that 'all the English who may be dispersed in any other parts, whether on the Spanish continent or in any of the islands whatsoever dependent on the aforesaid Spanish continent,' should retire within those limits. The district in question was within the present bounds of British Honduras, and the provision was held by the Spaniards to exclude English settlement elsewhere in Central America. Here again the point arose whether the Mosquito territory had ever been part of the 'Spanish continent,' and could be included in any treaty made with Spain. The British authorities supported the views of the Spanish government, and, by the Convention of London signed on the 14th of July, 1786, it was definitely agreed that British subjects and other colonists under the protection of England should evacuate the Mosquito country and the adjacent islands, while the Spaniards were bound over not to treat the Indians with severity. The treaty was bitterly resented at the time as an abandonment of faithful allies, a forfeiting of undoubted British rights, and a recognition of unfounded Spanish pretensions; and, in spite of its provisions, many of the settlers remained, while British protection over the Mosquito Indians appears to have grown up again by the end of the century, if indeed it had ever been actually abandoned. In 1796 the island of Ruatan was utilized as a place of transportation for the Caribs of St. Vincent¹. In 1816² the king of

¹ See above, p. 216.

² On this occasion the Superintendent of Belize presented the king of the Mosquitos with a portrait of the Prince Regent (afterwards George the Fourth), and wrote to him on the subject as follows: 'You appeared greatly surprised that His Royal Highness looked so like a Prince! I feel a pleasure in telling you how this happens, because you may acquire the same appearance. He always acts like one.' The letter is dated the fourteenth of January, 1816, and is included in the correspondence printed for Parliament in 1848.

the Mosquitos applied to be crowned in the settlement of Belize, so that his subjects might see that he was in a particular manner under the protection of the British government. In 1840 the king made a will leaving the regency of his kingdom, in the event of a minority, in the hands of the Superintendent of Belize; and, when difficulties arose between the Republican governments of Central America and the Mosquitos, Lord Palmerston in 1847 laid down in so many words that the king of Mosquito was under the protection of the British Crown. Eventually treaties were made with the governments of the states of Honduras and Nicaragua in 1859 and 1860 respectively, regulating the relations of those states to the old and tried friends of England.

By the treaty with the former and more northerly state, the British government recognized the Bay islands¹ as part of the Republic of Honduras, and the country of the Mosquitos, which lay within the limits of that state, as belonging to and under its sovereignty; but, in agreeing to withdraw its Protectorate, it stipulated that the Mosquito Indians should remain undisturbed and should be given a small subsidy for ten years.

The treaty with Nicaragua was couched almost in the same terms, but it contained a definite stipulation that a reserve should be set apart, wherein the Indians should enjoy self-government under the sovereignty of the Republic. The provisions of the agreement were subsequently submitted to the arbitration of the Emperor of Austria, and his award, which was given in 1881, laid down that the sovereignty of the Nicaraguan government over the Mosquito territory is not full and unlimited, but limited by the rights of self-government which the treaty secured to the Indians. To this day these rights appear to be maintained; on the maps of the coast south of Cape Gracias à Dios the Mosquito Reserve still holds its own, having Bluefields for its

¹ In view of the increasing number of British subjects in the Bay islands, these islands only a very short time before, in 1852, had been constituted a separate British colony, with a governor to represent the governor of Jamaica and an elected Assembly of twelve.

capital; and this sturdy tribe of Indians still shows, by maintaining a qualified independence, that there was at least one native race which the Spaniards could never conquer or enslave.

According to tradition, logwood cutting on the coast of Yucatan began as early as the reign of Henry the Eighth, but the trade, as carried on by British subjects or persons under the protection of Great Britain, only came into notice about the middle of the seventeenth century. The Spanish power was then falling away, the buccaneers were gathering strength, and the taking of Jamaica had given the English a firm position within easy reach of the mainland coast. Logwood cutting and privateering were intimately connected. Men like Dampier¹ easily changed from the one employment to the other. When inclined to make money peacefully they cut and sold wood; when disturbed in this business, or tired of its routine, they took to plunder and piracy, ready to become woodcutters again if Spain and England combined to put down privateering. The Spaniards objected to the trade as being, from their point of view, an infringement of sovereign rights; the English governors of Jamaica encouraged it, not only because it promised to be a rich source of revenue, but also because it was a good way of employing the buccaneers.

Willis's reputed settlement at Belize has already been noticed², but logwood cutting seems to have been mainly carried on first at the extremity of the Yucatan peninsula, near Cape Catoche, and subsequently on its western side, where the Bay of Campeché runs into the land in the inlet known as the Laguna de Terminos. Writing in 1670, Sir T. Modyford, the governor of Jamaica, reported that 'about a dozen vessels ply only this trade and make great profit, selling the wood at £25 to £30 a ton; they were privateers, but will not leave the trade again; they go

¹ Dampier went from Jamaica to Campeché on woodcutting expeditions in 1675-6, prior to joining the buccaneers. See *William Dampier* in the *English Men of Action* series, by Mr. Clarke Russell (1889).

² See above, p. 301.

to places either inhabited by Indians or void, and trespass not at all upon the Spaniards, and if encouraged the whole logwood trade will be English and very considerable to His Majesty, paying £5 per ton customs. The places they now trade at are Cape Gracias à Dios, Darien, Mosquito, and many deserted places in Campeché, Cuba, and Hispaniola.' These words indicate the course taken by the trade and the traders. In the fulness of their power the Spaniards paid little attention to that part of the main where, instead of gold and silver, they found only trees; it was precisely where there was most timber that there were fewest Spaniards and therefore the easiest openings for interlopers, and it was only when woodcutting was found to be very profitable, when a regular trade had been established, and when the buccaneers backed it up, that the Spanish government began to take action against trespassers on what they held to be their property. Then ensued a long controversy, an interchange of claims and counter-claims. The woodcutters pleaded length of time without interference, and also sanction by treaty, and the case was summed up in a celebrated representation to the English Crown by His Majesty's Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, made in consequence of a complaint by the Spanish Ambassador, and dated the 25th of September, 1717¹. To what dimensions the trade had grown by that date is shown by the statement that for the four years, 1713-16, the export of logwood had averaged 3,741 tons per annum, valued at not less than £60,000.

The case for the woodcutters was as follows. The treaty of 1667, between Great Britain and Spain, provided for free trading intercourse by land and water between the subjects of the two nations in each other's possessions; and the American treaty, as it was called, signed in 1670, definitely laid down that the British Crown should 'keep, and always possess in full right of sovereignty . . . all the lands, countries, islands, colonies, and

¹ This paper can be consulted in MS. at the Record Office. It is so often quoted and referred to that it probably exists in printed form, but the present writer has not been able to discover a copy.

other places, be they what they will, lying and situate in the West Indies, or in any part of America, which the said King of Great Britain and his subjects now hold and possess.' In 1672 the Spanish government issued a cedula or decree to the effect 'that such as should make invasion or trade without licence in the ports of the Indies should be proceeded against as pirates.' Under this decree they took action against the woodcutters, and in 1680 drove them out from the Laguna de Terminos, only to see them return in a few months and follow up their calling with redoubled energy and success, having already been formally recognized by the Jamaica government in 1672, and by the English government at home in 1673. It was proved that before 1670, and probably before 1667, the woodcutters 'did enjoy an uninterrupted liberty of cutting logwood in the Laguna de Terminos and other places, not inhabited by the Spaniards, in the province of Yucatan either through right, sufferance, or indulgence,' that, though their work had carried them away from the sea-shore for some little way into the interior, and though they had built huts and made temporary settlements, they had never come in contact with the Spaniards, and no notice had been taken of them by Spain till two years after the signing of the 1670 treaty. It was therefore contended that the *uti possidetis* clause of that treaty 'did establish a right in the Crown of Great Britain to the Laguna de Terminos and the parts adjacent, those places at the time of the treaty, and for some years before, being actually in possession of the British subjects.'

The treaty of Utrecht, signed in 1713, left matters very much where they were, confirming the treaty of 1670 'without any prejudice to any liberty or power, which the subjects of Great Britain enjoyed before, either through right, sufferance, or indulgence'; but in or about 1717 the Spaniards appear to have finally broken up the settlement at the Laguna de Terminos, and the traders retired to Belize and the Mosquito shore, though they still made woodcutting expeditions to their old haunts.

From this time onward attempts at British settlement in Central

America were confined to the eastern side of the peninsula of Yucatan, and to the Gulf of Honduras. The woodcutters became known as the 'Baymen,' and they gradually concentrated themselves at the Belize river, falling back when attacked by the Spaniards upon the Mosquito shore. They had a trading station at the mouth of the river, but their chief living place was the little islet off the coast which bears the name of St. George's Cay, the town of Belize not being laid out and recognized as the capital until after the treaty of 1786. They formed a strong, rude, and independent community, living with a sword in one hand and an axe in the other, nominally under the authority of the government of Jamaica. The representative of that government on the mainland was the Superintendent of the Mosquito shore, and he was apparently assumed to have charge of the affairs of the Baymen, for he reported having made a tour of inspection in 1756-7, on which occasion he went up the Belize river 'and visited most of the Baymen's habitations and logwood works,' finding the population to consist of some 300 white and coloured British subjects, and 800 slaves. In 1754 the settlers were attacked by the Spaniards, and it was not until the peace of 1763 that they obtained any formal recognition from the Spanish government. The seventeenth article of that treaty, while providing in words already quoted¹ that all fortifications erected by British subjects 'in the Bay of Honduras and other places of the territory of Spain in that part of the world' should be demolished, laid down that the woodcutters should not be disturbed in their occupation 'in the said places,' and should be allowed to build houses and magazines for their families and effects. In the following year complaints were made of unwarrantable Spanish interference, and in 1765 Admiral Burnaby arrived from Jamaica, accompanied by the afterwards famous Captain Cook, to confirm the colonists in their rights. His visit was memorable as giving a constitution to the settlers, which

¹ See above, p. 303.

recognized their existing form of government by public meetings and elected magistrates.

In 1779 the Spaniards made a determined attack upon St. George's Cay, took many of the Baymen prisoners to Havana, and forced the remainder to retire to the island of Ruatan. A small English squadron soon reinforced the colonists and equalized matters by taking the Spanish town of Omoa, but the Belize colony was not fully re-established until the peace of 1783 had been signed. This treaty went beyond the peace of 1763 in marking out a definite sphere for logwood cutting between the rivers Hondo and Belize, with fishing rights off the shore; but it reserved the sovereignty of Spain over the district in question, it again provided for the demolition of all fortifications, and it precluded settlement on the islands near the coast. The convention of 1786 amplified and amended the treaty of 1783. The bounds of the woodcutters were now extended on the south to the river Sibun, giving them an additional nine or ten miles of coast; 'liberty of cutting all other wood without even excepting mahogany' was conceded; occupation of St. George's Cay and other small islets was allowed, but the erection of fortifications, and the establishment of sugar or other plantations were forbidden, and the sovereign rights of the Spanish government were again reserved and recognized in more explicit terms.

Hitherto British Honduras had existed, so to speak, by sufferance of the Spaniards: the turning-point in its history came in the year 1798. The Spaniards had determined, once for all, to drive this persistent band of settlers out of territory which they deemed their own; and in September of that year a fleet from Campeché with a force of some 2,000 men on board, commanded by O'Neil, the Governor of Yucatan, bore down on the colony. The year before, the Baymen, in a General Assembly, had by a small majority only rejected a proposal to evacuate their settlements for ever; and now they prepared to meet the invaders in boats and schooners, burning their houses on St. George's Cay lest they should be a foothold for the enemy. Backed by one

British ship and a handful of British troops, helped by the shoals, and with their slaves fighting by their side, they conquered in a miniature Salamis; and, beating off their assailants, they once for all established their colony by right of conquest not by indulgence of a foreign power. Henceforward British Honduras had a right to its name; from this date it was a British possession, not a Spanish district where British subjects had certain treaty rights; its limits were gradually extended, and the settlers who had fought so hard for their trade, followed it up without let or hindrance from foreign foe¹.

Dogged as the Baymen had been in withstanding Spanish attacks, they were no less sturdy in asserting their rights of self-government against the British authorities. They wanted British protection, but not British interference; and, in earlier days, while they were a constantly shifting community of traders and adventurers, they could with advantage be left to manage their own affairs in the simplest possible manner. But as successive treaties between Spain and Great Britain gradually defined their rights, so the exercise of authority by the nation which protected and made terms for them became more and more inevitable; and as the irregular settlements crystallized into a colony, so the need of system and organization became more apparent.

In 1786, a Superintendent, Colonel Despard, was sent to Belize by the British government. He became embroiled with the settlers by attempting to introduce changes in the mode of administration to which they had so long been accustomed, and in 1790 his successor restored the old system which had been sanctioned by Burnaby's code. For the next six years the government was left in the hands of elected magistrates as of old, until in 1797 fear of the Spaniards brought in again at the colonists' own request a Superintendent who was at the same time a military officer. From this time onward there was always a representative of the British government at Belize, but down

¹ In 1805 the settlers passed a regulation that no Spaniard should be allowed to cut logwood, or any other woods, in the settlement.

to about the year 1830 little change was made in the method of administration, and magistrates were still elected annually by the public meeting or General Assembly which had grown up with the settlement. About that date, the Superintendent began to issue proclamations which had the force of law; and in 1832 he took to appointing the magistrates, who had hitherto been elected. The inevitable struggle took place between the executive and the representative body, the Superintendent being from 1840 onward assisted by an Executive Council; and at length, in 1853, the system of government was defined by ordinance, the legislature being made to consist of the Superintendent and a Legislative Assembly, eighteen members of which were elected and three nominated. In 1855 the law of England was finally and formally adopted as the law of British Honduras. In 1862 the 'settlement' of British Honduras was declared to be a colony, the Governor of which was to be the Governor of Jamaica, locally represented by a Lieutenant-Governor, who took the place of the Superintendent. At the end of 1870, in answer to a petition by the Legislative Assembly, the principle of popular representation was abolished, and British Honduras became a Crown Colony; and finally in 1884 its connexion with Jamaica, which had for some time been nominal, was completely severed, and it was given a Governor under the immediate control of the Colonial Office.

Apart from constitutional changes, there is little to notice in the history of British Honduras during the nineteenth century. In 1806 the settlers are said to have numbered about 3,700 in all, of whom only about 200 were white men, while 3,000 were slaves. At the time of emancipation, in 1834, the slaves numbered 1,901, the number of whites being stated to be 223 and of free coloured 1,788. Slavery took a milder form in this colony than in the West Indian Islands. In a half-organized community of hard-working, hard-fighting men, the slaves were more nearly on a level with their masters than in a more developed social system, and they showed that their bondage was a light one by taking their full share in the last struggle against Spanish invasion.

The earlier years of the century were a time of prosperity in the mahogany and logwood trade, but subsequently the trade tended to decline. The colony too suffered from the after effects of the revolutions which took away for ever from Spain her great dominions on the American continent, and a series of Indian raids kept the northern and north-western frontier till a few years ago in a state of insecurity and unrest. Yet, in spite of these disturbances, and in spite of the want of good communication without and within, solid progress has been made, and its present trade still more its undeveloped resources, make the territory which the Baymen took and kept a possession of value to the British Crown.

The Executive Council of British Honduras, in addition to the Governor, who is president, consists of six members, of whom three are officials and three unofficials. The Legislative Council consists of four official members including the Governor, who is president, and of five nominated unofficial members.

The common and statute law of England, so far as it is locally applicable, in conjunction with the ordinances passed by the colonial legislature, forms the law of the land. The Supreme Court is presided over by a single Judge, called the Chief Justice, from whose decisions an appeal lies to the Supreme Court of Jamaica—a remnant of the connexion which so long existed between the two colonies. The district commissioners exercise summary jurisdiction in civil cases up to the value of \$100, and act generally as Justices of the Peace and coroners.

The area of British Honduras, including the cays and islands off its coast, is given at 7,562 square miles, which slightly exceeds the area of Wales. The colony has a coast line of 180 miles, its greatest length is 174 miles, its average breadth 40 to 50 miles.

It is bounded by the Republic of Mexico on the north and north-west, and by Guatemala on the west and south. Its eastern boundary is the Bay of Honduras. The river Hondo divides it from Mexico on the north, the river Sarstoon from Guatemala on the south. The western boundary is an artificial one, but the northern half has been carefully surveyed. Starting

from the Gracias à Dios Falls on the Sarstoon river, it takes a straight line in a northerly direction to Garbutt's Falls on the Belize river, thence it follows the meridian of these falls due north till it crosses the headwaters of the Hondo, there called the Blue Creek, from which point it follows that river down to the sea, including Albion Island formed by the division of the Hondo about the middle of its course. The coast islands within the limits of the colony are very numerous, including among many others Turneffe, St. George's Cay, English Cay, and Ambergris Cay, the last-named island being almost joined to a projecting point of Yucatan.

British Honduras on the Atlantic coast of Central America has in its geography much in common with British Guiana on the Atlantic coast of South America. Both are in great measure low-lying countries stretching from an inland range to the sea; both have a level coast region, and higher ground in the interior, the climate of which is fresh and invigorating compared with that of the coast; and both owe much of their general conformation as well as of the richness of their soil to large rivers running roughly parallel to each other. The chief rivers of British Honduras are in the north of the colony and have a north-easterly direction. The largest is the Belize, flowing into the sea on the east, while the mouths of the New River and the Hondo are on the northern boundary. The rivers constantly widen out into large lagoons or creeks, the amount of water in which varies very much from time to time, making navigation difficult and irregular, and often there is little left but a vast tract of swamp. Swamp land indeed forms a large proportion of the area of the colony, especially near the coast. At the frontier the Belize with its tributaries forms the district known from the interlacing of streams as the Cayo or the island. As the largest rivers are in the north, so the mountains and high ground are mainly in the south. Throughout the continent of America there runs a long backbone of mountains sloping away on the east into plains of vast area in the United States and in Brazil, and of smaller extent in the

narrowed section of land known as Central America. British Honduras forms part of this plain, including also a portion of the eastern slope of the Cordillera. A spur of the great main range runs parallel with the coast from the southern boundary of the colony for about one-third of its length. At this point a range, bearing the name of Cockscomb Mountains, rises to a height of some 4,000 feet; it runs at right angles to the coast, and intercepts the main line of hills which is carried on in a north-westerly direction till it reaches the western boundary of the colony beyond Garbutt's Falls.

The colony outside the swamp land of the coast has been divided according to its forest growth into three 'types of country,' known as Ridges, and bearing respectively the names of Pine Ridge, Cohune Ridge, and Broken Ridge. No one of these is wholly confined to any special district, but they constantly alternate with each other throughout the colony. The first takes its name from the *Pinus Cubensis* and includes the higher levels; its greatest extent therefore is in the south. The second, called after the Cohune palm, comprises the lower tracts near the rivers, with rich fertile soil and the great timber trees which are the speciality of British Honduras. The third, the Broken Ridge, is intermediate between the two others, taking in the bases of the Pine Ridges, approximating to savanna land, for the most part barer and more barren than the other two divisions, broken both in soil and in vegetation¹.

The coast of British Honduras is difficult of access owing to shoals and shallows, and is studded throughout its length with cays and islets, some of which have been already mentioned.

For administrative purposes the colony is now divided into six districts, Corosal, Orange Walk, Belize, Cayo, Stann Creek, and Toledo. The district of Belize includes Belize, the capital, which at the last census had a population of 9,113. It stands on low ground at the mouth of the Belize river, with an anchorage

¹ Reference should be made to Mr. Hooper's *Report upon the Forests of Honduras*.

made secure by an outside line of islets, but too shallow to allow vessels to come near to the shore. The two northern districts are Corosal and Orange Walk. Corosal, situated on the coast line between the New River and the Hondo, is the second town in the colony; while higher up, on the New River, is the settlement of Orange Walk. The inland western district is the same as the Cayo, which has already been mentioned. The two southern districts, which include the greater part of the mountainous regions of the colony, are Stann Creek, with the principal settlement of the same name, and Toledo in the extreme south, the main station in which is Punta Gorda.

The climate on the coast and in the forest-covered low lands is damp and heavy, widely different from that of the hill country in the interior; but, generally speaking, the temperature ranges somewhat lower than in the West Indian Islands or in British Guiana, as the position of the colony between the sea and the great plateau of Guatemala exposes it to the full force of the easterly trade winds. The temperature at Belize varies through the year from 63° to 90° Fahrenheit, the mean being about 77° ; and the annual rainfall is about 82 inches. Violent storms are very rare, though mention of hurricanes is found in the records of the colony.

In the main an expanse of tropical forest, British Honduras is rich in natural vegetation of all kinds, but its name in the markets of the world rests upon its logwood and mahogany. It was to obtain these woods that Englishmen first settled on these shores. Logwood was the first and for some time the main export, but mahogany, which came into use in England for making furniture at the end of the seventeenth or the beginning of the eighteenth century, gradually rivalled and till lately superseded it in importance. Even in spite of the fall in value which took place some years ago, these woods remain the chief export of the colony, the quantity of mahogany shipped in any one year depending on the amount of water in the rivers down which the logs are floated to the sea. In 1903 the export of mahogany

9,358,776 feet as against 6,043,821 feet in 1902, while the export of logwood was 14,205 tons as against 15,200 tons in 1902, the falling off in the latter case being mainly due to depression in the industry and the consequent low prices obtained. The combined value of these two articles of export in 1903 was \$766,857, being nearly one-half of the value of the total exports of the colony. Among other forest products, india-rubber, cedar, and rosewood deserve to be specified.

Next to timber cutting, fruit growing for the American market is the most important industry of the colony. The value of the fruit sent out including bananas, plantains, and coco-nuts, was in 1903 about one-eighth of the total value of the exports, and the trade has grown with the establishment of regular steam communication, British Honduras supplying New Orleans just as Jamaica supplies New York.

Sugar and rum have been produced in moderate quantities, but not of high quality; and mainly for home consumption, not for export.

The mother-country and the United States divide between them nearly five-sixths of the total import and export trade of the colony, of which the latter takes the larger share. Flour, salt meat, and fish from the United States are exchanged for tropical fruits, while Great Britain sends hardware and textile manufactures, receiving timber in return. The remainder of the trade is chiefly with the Central American Republics, but the proportion is very much less than it was a few years ago. In former days Belize was the *entrepôt* of a profitable and extensive traffic with the neighbouring states of Guatemala, Honduras, and San Salvador. The progress of steam communication, and the consequently increased facilities for shipping produce direct, has reduced this trade considerably; but it would in all probability revive, if Belize were to be joined, as proposed, by railway with the eastern side of the continent. Want of labour is one great bar to rapid commercial growth of the colony. It is that every labourer, however indifferent, is in demand,

a steady supply of capable workmen has been especially felt in connexion with the fruit industry.

The currency of the colony has of late years been a constant source of difficulty. Down to 1894 the standard of value was the Guatemalan dollar, and Chilian and Peruvian silver coins were also legal tender, but by Ordinance No. 31 of that year the currency was established on a gold basis, the gold dollar of the United States being adopted as the standard coin. The British sovereign and half-sovereign are likewise legal tender, and there is a subsidiary silver currency coined specially for the colony and a bronze one-cent piece. Currency notes of different denominations up to 100 dollars are also in circulation. In January, 1903, the Bank of British Honduras, Limited, began business in the colony. It is a bank of deposit and discount, but not of circulation. There is also a government Savings' Bank.

The revenue for 1902-3 amounting to \$259,600 was rather less than that of previous years. About half the revenue is obtained from import duties, and the other principal items are excise, liquor licences, land tax, and rents and sales of Crown lands, vast areas of which are still in the hands of the government. The expenditure during the same year amounted to \$252,242. There is a debt of \$168,815, incurred chiefly for sanitary improvements at Belize, including the dredging of some parts of the harbour.

There are no railways in the colony, though surveys have been made with the view of constructing a line to develop the interior, but the scheme has never been proceeded with. Regular communication by mail steamers once a week is established with New Orleans and Puerto Cortez and about every six weeks with Liverpool and Colon. A telegraph line has been constructed from Belize to the Hondo to connect with the Mexican telegraph system.

The population of the colony increases but slowly. In 1901 it numbered 37,479 against 31,471 in 1891. The majority of the population is in the Belize and the northern districts. Of the total population about 500 are said to be of pure European

race, mainly the descendants of Scotch settlers. The bulk of the small community consists of one or other of two elements. The first is a mixture of Spaniard and Indian, whose language is in most cases a Spanish patois. The second is a black element similar to that which prevails in all the West Indian colonies. On the north-western frontier is a more or less nomadic body of Indians, nominally under Mexican rule, but constantly tending to overflow into British territory; and on the coast to the south of Belize are over 2,000 Caribs, the remnant of those who were deported to the island of Ruatan¹ at the end of the last century and most of whom crossed over to the mainland.

The Roman Catholic religion is professed by about half of the population, and about one-third is included in various Protestant denominations, the Weslevans being the most numerous. From 1812 to 1872 the Church of England was the Established Church of the colony, but the numbers of its adherents have never been very large.

Education is provided for in denominational schools, which receive grants in aid from the general revenue, under the supervision of the official Board of Education and an Inspector of Schools. One condition of receiving a government grant is that the English language shall be taught. In 1903 there were some forty-four schools in the colony, with an average daily attendance of 2,713 or about sixty per school.

British Honduras is the only possession which Great Britain owns on the mainland of America between Canada and British Guiana. Its distance from New Orleans on the north is said to be about 900 miles, and from Jamaica on the east about 600 miles. Its neighbours are Spanish American Republics. Its communication with Europe is mainly through the United States, though there is a line of British steamers running to Belize; and no submarine telegraph, as yet, links the colony to the outer world. Its motto '*Sub umbrâ floreo*,' indicates the fact that from first to last timber has been its speciality. It is more

¹ See above, pp. 216 and 304.

peculiarly a wood producing and exporting colony than any other part of the British Empire, and its logwood and mahogany trade suggests comparison with the lumber trade of Canada. At the same time it is, like British Guiana, a little-known land, and in its half-explored interior there may be mineral or agricultural wealth whose development will give to its future a different colouring from that of its past.

From an historical point of view, British Honduras is a very interesting instance of the evolution of a colony. It began with private adventurers, who held their own in spite of a strong foreign power and whose success practically obliged their own government to afford them some measure of recognition and protection. It originated with trade, trade begat settlement, and settlement brought about in fulness of time a colony. The trade and the settlement were at first more or less contraband, then actual facts produced trading rights by treaty, and trading rights developed by force of circumstances into ownership of the soil. All through the history the men and their actions forced the hands of the governments concerned, and it may almost be said that the colonization of British Honduras took place in spite of the State. The woodcutters and settlers in early times were closely connected with the buccaneers, and here as elsewhere these unlicensed free traders largely helped on the building up of the British Empire in the West Indies. But both the buccaneers and the woodcutters of Central America were constantly coming from and going to Jamaica, and so the history of British Honduras has always, until a few years ago, been bound up with that of Jamaica. Indeed the story of the Baymen and their doings is perhaps most interesting as illustrating the commanding position which Jamaica has ever held in West Indian history. Beyond all other of these colonies, it was not merely a single settlement, however strong or populous, but it was a centre of British influence in these seas, a colony with outlying dependencies, the point from which Great Britain made her power felt and extended her commerce along the coasts of Spanish America.

It has been seen that the woodcutters and traders on the Central American shores plied their trade and formed their settlements at three different points,—on the west side of the peninsula of Yucatan, at Belize, and on the Mosquito coast. The net result has been the British colony of Belize. History reads as though this result were brought about by arrangement between Great Britain and Spain, but in reality it was due more to geographical attraction than to any treaty between governments. There were three points of attempted settlement, and Belize was the central one of the three; so that British Honduras adds one more to a long list of illustrations, that the course of colonization depends on geography, and that to hold a central position means permanence and strength.

BOOKS, PUBLICATIONS, ETC., RELATING TO BRITISH HONDURAS.

The early history of British Honduras and of the Mosquito coast can best be gathered from the standard works on Jamaica.

Among official publications on the colony, Mr. HOOPER'S *Report upon the Forests of Honduras* [1887] should specially be consulted.

Reference should also be made to the *Narrative of a Journey across the Unexplored Portion of British Honduras, with a Short Sketch of the History and Resources of the Colony*, by HENRY FOWLER, then Colonial Secretary [Belize, 1879]; and among other books, to GIBBS'S *British Honduras* [1883], and MORRIS'S *British Honduras* [1883].

SECTION III

THE FALKLAND ISLANDS AND SOUTH GEORGIA

THE FALKLAND ISLANDS.

As the discovery of the West Indies resulted from an attempt to find a new way to the East, so, to compare small things with great, the discovery of the Falkland Islands at the extreme south of America was the result of a voyage intended to solve the problem of a North-West passage from Europe to Asia round the ice-bound coast of North America.

John Davis¹ the Arctic explorer, one of the many great Devonshire seamen, contemporary, friend, and neighbour of Raleigh, had in the years 1585-1587 paid three visits to the desolate Northern Ocean and had left his name to be borne by the strait between Greenland and the American continent. His object was to find a practicable route to Asia, and in 1591 he determined to attempt the passage from the opposite side, sailing through the Straits of Magellan and coming up along the Pacific coast. He joined forces with Thomas Cavendish, renowned for having repeated Drake's exploit of sailing round the world, but the two captains, one an explorer the other a freebooter, were ill-assorted, they parted company on the coast of Patagonia, the expedition was a failure and ended in the Straits of Magellan, and its chief result in the way of geographical discovery was that on the fourteenth of August, 1592, Davis was driven in among certain isles, 'never before discovered by any known relation, lying fifty leagues or better from the shore east and northerly from the

¹ See Sir Clements Markham's *Life of John Davis in the World's Great Explorers Series* [1889].

Straits'. These isles, of which he was only too glad to keep clear, were the Falkland Islands. Two years later, in 1594, the islands were skirted by Richard Hawkins, who tried to do honour at once to his Queen and to himself by naming them Hawkins' Maiden Land. In 1598-1600 they were sighted by the Dutch sailor Sebald de Veert and were called after him Sebald's Islands or the Sebaldines; and it was not till after 1690 that the name Falkland Islands came into existence.

In that year Captain Strong visited the group and gave the name of Falkland Channel to the strait between the two main islands, the name being subsequently applied to the islands themselves. At Christmas time in the year 1708 Woodes Rogers and Dampier came within sight of 'Falkland's Land,' but it was not till the middle of the eighteenth century that any notice was taken of this distant, desolate archipelago; up to that date, only a very few adventurous sailors came and looked on the islands and passed by on the other side.

The narrative of Lord Anson's voyage¹ round the world, which was published in 1748, called attention to the want of a station and friendly place of call for British ships in the South Atlantic, and suggested that possibly the Falkland Islands would be a suitable place for such a station, in view of its position with regard to the coasts of Spanish America. The British government accordingly prepared to send out an expedition to explore and report upon these islands, but desisted owing to remonstrances from the Spanish authorities, who naturally objected to the English obtaining a foothold anywhere near their South American possessions. Nothing more was done until the peace of 1763 set the fighting powers of Europe for awhile free to push their way into the dark corners of the world. The French especially, having lost Canada, were looking abroad for fresh lands to conquer and to colonize, and hoped to find them in the Southern Seas; and Bougainville, their greatest explorer, under-

¹ From the account of *The last voyage of the worshipfull M. Th. Candish* esquire [Hakluyt].

² In 1740-4.

took to plant a colony in the Falkland Islands. The settlers, including some Acadian families, landed early in 1764, and established themselves at Port Louis at the head of Berkeley Sound on the eastern side of East Falkland. The colony however lasted only for a very short time, for the jealousy of the Spaniards was again aroused, and in 1766 Port Louis was given over to them in return for a sum of money paid to Bougainville by way of compensation, and was rechristened for a while Port Solidad. The French occupation, brief as it was, left its mark on the islands. Bougainville's company set out from the port of St. Malo, and, though the Falklands are said to have derived their alternative name of 'Iles Malouines,' or in Spanish guise 'Malvinas,' from earlier visits by St. Malo vessels at the beginning of the eighteenth century, it may well be supposed that the fact of their being actually colonized from the Breton port did much to perpetuate the name. Further, the herds of wild cattle and horses, which till lately were so numerous in East Falkland, were said to have been in great measure the descendants of the stock introduced by the French settlers.

Very shortly after the French had taken possession of East Falkland, the English planted themselves in the western island. Captain Byron was sent out by the government in 1764, and in January, 1765, he arrived at an inlet on the west coast of that island, which he named Egmont Harbour, after the Earl of Egmont, First Lord of the Admiralty. 'Of this harbour, and all the adjoining islands,' he says, 'I took possession for His Majesty King George the Third of Great Britain under the name of Falkland's Island'. At the beginning of the following year a blockhouse was built at Port Egmont and a small garrison placed there, and for a short time the two European settlements in East and West Falkland existed side by side. The Spaniards, however, were ill at ease at the prospect of another European nation establishing itself in these seas, and finally the Governor of Buenos Ayres sent a force, which in June, 1770, compelled the

¹ See the account given in *Hawkesworth's Voyages*, vol. i.

English to evacuate their settlement. This high-handed proceeding led to strong remonstrance on the part of the British government, with the result that in January, 1771, the King of Spain agreed to restore Port Egmont on condition that the restitution should not 'affect the question of the prior right of sovereignty of the Malouins, otherwise called Falkland's Islands.' This agreement was accepted by Lord North and his colleagues as sufficient satisfaction for the injury which had been committed, but the action of the government was strongly attacked both in and out of Parliament, mainly on the ground that the sovereignty of the islands had been left an open question. Junius wrote in condemnation of the Ministry, and was answered by Johnson in his pamphlet, *Thoughts on the late Transactions respecting Falkland's Islands*; while Chatham proposed to submit to judicial opinion the awkward query, 'Whether, in consideration of law, the Imperial Crown of this realm can hold any territories or possessions thereunto belonging otherwise than in sovereignty?' It was a case in which war between two great countries might easily have arisen from a wholly inadequate cause; but, when the government had secured a parliamentary majority in favour of their policy, the matter was allowed to drop; and shortly afterwards, in May, 1774, the English abandoned their station at Port Egmont after putting up a plate inscribed with a formal declaration that the islands belonged to Great Britain.

From this date the group appear to have remained for nearly fifty years without being formally occupied, though the Spaniards are said to have made use of one of the islands as a convict station. At length, in 1820, the Republican Government of Buenos Ayres took possession of them, and in 1826 gave a grant of East Falkland to Don Louis Vernet, who established himself on the scene of the old French and Spanish settlement at Port Louis. In 1831 Vernet seized three American sailing vessels, and in reprisal the United States government at the end of the year sent a small force and destroyed the settlement. This action and, as is stated, the rumour that the Americans

contemplated taking possession of the Falklands for the protection of their trade, induced the British government to revive their sleeping claims. Accordingly, in pursuance of instructions from the Admiralty, one of the ships on the South American station reached Port Egmont on the twentieth of December, 1832; the British flag was hoisted, the fort was repaired, and an inscription was set up in the following words: 'Visited by H.B.M. sloop *Clio*, for the purpose of exercising the right of sovereignty over these islands, 23rd December, 1832.' Passing on to East Falkland, the captain of the *Clio* found at Port Solidad a small detachment of soldiers from Buenos Ayres, who, in spite of the destruction of Vernet's settlement, had been again sent there in the previous October to re-assert the rights of the Republic. He at once called upon their commander to surrender the post as being in a port belonging to Great Britain; the demand was complied with, and, in spite of strong protests on the part of the government of Buenos Ayres, the British sovereignty over the Falkland Islands was once for all asserted and maintained. For some years the dependency continued in charge of the Admiralty, but in 1843 a civil government was established¹, and the islands took their place among the Crown Colonies of Great Britain.

About the same date, in 1844, the seat of government was moved from Port Louis, or Anson as it was then named, to Port William, a little to the south; and here is the present little capital of the colony, called Stanley after the fourteenth Earl of Derby, who was at the time Secretary of State for the Colonies. In 1832 and 1834 the islands were visited by the *Beagle*, with Darwin on board, whose name is perpetuated in Port Darwin; and in 1846 a considerable step was taken towards turning the newly-organized colony to some commercial account. In that year the

¹ See *Correspondence respecting the Colonization of Falkland Islands*, laid before the House of Commons in 1841. These papers show that one reason for which the establishment of a regular colony in the islands was pressed on the government was the advantages which they were supposed to offer for the formation of a penal settlement.

southern portion of East Falkland below Choiseul Sound, being about one-third of the whole island, was granted to a Montevideo merchant of the name of Lafone, together with the absolute possession for six years of all the wild stock of all the islands. His district became known as Lafonia, and in 1851 his rights were taken over by the Falkland Islands Company, in whose hands is the bulk of the trade of the colony at the present day.

The Falkland Islands are a Crown Colony with a Governor and miniature Executive and Legislative Councils, the Legislative Council consisting, in addition to the Governor, of three official and two nominated unofficial members. The Governor is also the Chief Justice, and the Colonial Secretary acts as police magistrate. The law is the law of England¹ supplemented by local ordinances.

The area of the Falkland Islands is given at 6,500 square miles, made up as follows :—

East Falkland . . .	3,000 square miles.
West Falkland . . .	2,300 square miles.
Adjacent islands . . .	1,200 square miles.

Its dependency of South Georgia is given an approximate area of 1,000 square miles, so that the total area of the colony is 7,500 square miles, being about the same size as Wales.

The two large islands, East and West Falkland, are divided from each other by Falkland Sound, about 45 miles in length, and with a breadth varying from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 18 miles. The two islands point north-east and south-west. They are very alike in outline, and on the map give the appearance of one island cut into halves. The coasts are everywhere indented with bays running far inland, and are lined with numerous islets, especially on the western side of West Falkland. Among them may be mentioned the group of Jason Isles stretching out to the north-west, and having for a second name Sebald Isles or Sebaldines,

¹ A local ordinance, No. 10 of 1853, provided 'that all laws and statutes which were in force within the realm of England on the first day of January, 1850, shall be applied in the administration of justice in the Falkland Islands so far as the same can be applied.'

a name once borne by the whole archipelago. The various bays and sounds, with their many and good harbours, are too numerous to be specified. On the north-west of West Falkland is Byron Sound leading into Egmont Harbour, on which, placed on Saunders' Island, was the British settlement of the last century. On the north-east of East Falkland is Berkeley Sound, where the French established themselves at Port Louis; and the next break in the land to the south is Port William, in the south-west of which is the nearly land-locked inlet forming Stanley Harbour, secure and easy of access, about 3 miles in length from east to west by one-third of a mile in breadth. On its southern shore, on the slope of the line of hills which crosses the island from east to west and which is at that point known as Murray Heights, is the little town of Stanley, which at the last census had a resident population of 916. Some distance to the south-west of Stanley is Choiseul Sound, which runs to meet Grantham Sound on the west and nearly divides East Falkland into a northern and southern island; and near its head is Darwin Harbour with the little village of Port Darwin, the second settlement in the islands. Both of the main islands have their greatest breadth in the north and narrow into peninsular form towards the south. They are described by Darwin as 'an undulating land with a desolate and wretched aspect,' and the *Narrative of the Voyage of the Challenger* speaks of them as 'a treeless expanse of moorland and bog and bare and barren rock.' In East Falkland the highest ground is in the northern section of the island. Here a line of hills bearing the name of Wickham Heights runs across from Stanley to Grantham Sound, having its highest point at its western end in Mount Usborne, said to be 2,245 feet high. There is no such regular range in West Falkland, but the general level of the land is stated to be somewhat higher than in the Eastern Island, and Mount Adam towards the north-west is given a height of 2,315 feet.

The climate is severe though healthy. Darwin compared it to 'that which is experienced at the height of between one and two

thousand feet on the mountains of North Wales, having however less sunshine and less frost but more wind and rain. The winds, which for the most part blow from the west, are said to be stronger in day-time than by night and in summer than in winter. The thermometer is said seldom to fall below 30° in winter or to rise above 65° in summer, with a mean temperature of 42° . There is an abundance of mist and rain, the annual rainfall being about 21 inches. In the summer, however, the atmosphere is remarkably dry, and evaporation is rapid.

In the main a wild stretch of moorland, the Falklands have few products. The books on the subject mention a profusion of flowers in summer, the curious bog formation known as the balsam bog, and the reed-like tussac grass, which the cattle have nearly eaten up on the main islands. Almost the only, if not the only, indigenous animal is a kind of fox, and at the present time the islands are practically one large sheep run. In 1903, wool constituted more than seven-eighths of the total value of the exports, and of the remaining items sheepskins and tallow were far the most important. The trade is almost entirely with Great Britain, and the mails are carried by the Pacific Steam Navigation Company by means of a four-weekly service between Valparaiso and Liverpool; and these far-off islands have no submarine telegraph to connect them with America and Europe. Poor as the colony is it is clear from public debt; land revenue and customs forming nearly two-thirds of the annual receipts.

The population at the last census, in 1901, numbered 1,913 exclusive of shipping, and 2,043 including shipping. The large majority are to be found in East Falkland, and the predominating element in the little community is Scotch; Scotchmen having taken the place of the South American Guachos as shepherds and herdsmen. About one-half of the population are Anglicans, and about one-fourth Presbyterians, the remainder being mainly Roman Catholics. There are two government schools at Stanley, one for infants and one for older children, and the Falkland Islands Company support a small school at Port Darwin. There

are two itinerant teachers on the West Falkland and one on the northern part of the East Falkland and it is in contemplation to appoint more, as the benefits of this form of education to the scattered inhabitants of the out-districts are undoubted.

The Falklands lie about 480 miles north-east of Cape Horn, and about 1,000 miles nearly due south of Montevideo. The latter is the port with which they are most directly in communication.

They are the southernmost inhabited dependency of Great Britain, and the only point which Great Britain owns within the range of America from British Guiana on one side to British Columbia on the other. The nearest British settlement to them is one on foreign soil, the small but interesting Welsh colony on the Chubut river in Patagonia, within the dominion of the Argentine Republic. Remote and desolate as these islands are, they have one great natural advantage in their harbours, and have developed a profitable industry in sheep rearing. Their position has connected them with exploration of and trade in the Pacific and the Southern Seas, and, if the system of transportation had not been abolished, they might have attained a doubtful celebrity as a penal settlement. Once in history they became of sufficient importance to raise a difficult question between Great Britain and Spain, and to give employment to the pens of Johnson and Junius; and, after being bandied about between different nations, they have settled into the keeping of the people who first discovered them, whose ships can find most use for them, and whose northern island can send colonists best fitted to live and work on stormy wind-beaten moors.

SOUTH GEORGIA.

South Georgia, a large island with outlying smaller islands, is over 1,200 miles to the south-east of the Falklands. It is about 100 miles in length and 20 miles in greatest breadth, and points

in a NW. and SE. direction. It is uninhabited and almost perpetually icebound, but after a mild winter the lower hills near the coast appear of a light brown colour, free of snow, and the only parts in which vegetation appears are on the north-east side during the summer. It is said to have been first sighted by a French sailor, La Roche by name, in 1675. Captain Cook discovered it in January, 1775, doubting whether it were ice or land, and called it 'the Isle of Georgia' in honour of his king. He states that he landed in three different places, and took possession of the country in King George's name, and his graphic description of this valueless possession will bear repetition as holding good to the present day. 'The wild rocks raised their lofty summits till they were lost in the clouds, and the valleys lay covered with everlasting snow. Not a tree was to be seen, nor a shrub even big enough to make a toothpick.' Captain Weddell, who visited the island in April, 1823, has left on record a rather more favourable description of it, but both he and Captain Cook mention a coarse strong-bladed grass as being 'almost the only natural production of the soil.' In 1882-3 it was visited by the German expedition for observing the transit of Venus, and in earlier days sealing-vessels used to frequent its shores.

BOOKS, ETC., RELATING TO THE FALKLAND ISLANDS.

The early history of these islands is well given in the first chapter of the *Annual Register* for 1771. For a description of them reference should be made to DARWIN's *Journal of Researches*, being an account of the voyage of the *Beagle* [1860 edition], to the *Narrative of the Voyage of the Challenger*, vol. i. pt. 2 [1885], to the excellent article in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and to the *South America Pilot*, pt. i. [1902].

WHITINGTON's pamphlet [1840] entitled *The Falkland Islands*, and the Parliamentary Paper of 1841 should be consulted.

See also Captain WEDDELL's *Voyage towards the South Pole*, published in 1825.

A small but interesting album of photographic views was published in the Colony by J. Luxton in 1904.

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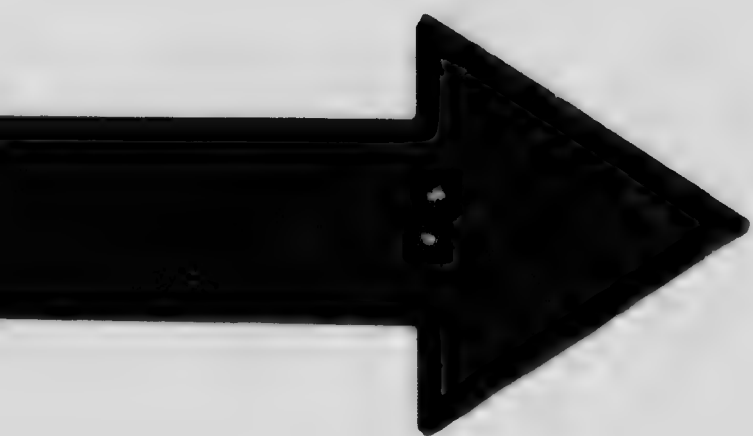
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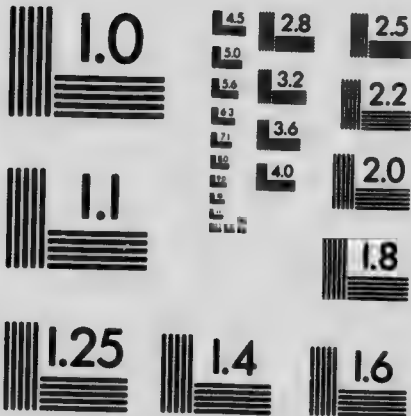
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